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THE

POOR GENTLEMEN OF LIÉGE:

BEING THE

HISTORY OF THE JESUITS

IN

ENGLAND AND IRELAND,

FOR THE LAST SIXTY YEARS.

TRANSLATED FROM THEIR OWN HISTORIAN,

M. CRETINEAU JOLY.

EDITED, WITH PREFACE AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES AND COMMENTS,

BY REV. R. J. M'GHEE, M.A.,

RECTOR OF HOLYWELL-CUM-NEEDINGWORTH.

"Do you know them?
No, Sir, their hats are plucked about their ears,
And half their faces buried in their cloaks,
That by no means I may discover them.
* * * * *
They are the faction. Oh! conspiracy,
Sham'st thou to shew thy dangerous brow by night
When evils are most free? Oh! then by day
Where wilt thou find a cavern dark enough
To mask thy monstrous visage? Seek none conspiracy,
Hide it in smiles and affability,
For if thou putt'st thy native semblance on,
Not Erebus itself were dark enough
To hide thee from prevention."
Julius Cæsar, Act ii., Scene 2.

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CONTENTS OF CHAPTER I.

pp. 1—60.

Expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia.—Their situation in the empire.
Jealousy of the Greek priests and of the Universities.
Alexander authorizes the missions of Siberia and Odessa.
The Duc de Richelieu and the Abbé Nicole.
Brzozowski, General of the Jesuits, and Count Joseph de Maistre.—Their plan to emancipate education.
Requirements of the University.
Brzozowski applies to Count Rasoumoffski in August, 1810.
Foreigners among the teachers.
The Jesuits demand that the College of Polotsk should be made a University.
Alexander hesitates.
The Count de Maistre takes part with the Jesuits.
Portrait of Joseph de Maistre.
His letters to the Minister of Public Instruction.
The Czar orders that the College should be made a University.
Project of the Jesuits to go into Spain to re-establish their Institute, 1812.
The Bible Society and Prince Galitzin, the Minister of Public Worship.
Character of Alexander the First.
He adopts the idea of the Bible Societies.
The Romish Bishops encouraged by Prince Galitzin become members of the Bible Society.—The Jesuits refuse to become members.—They oppose it.
The increase of Catholicism.—Causes of this increase.
Alexander Galitzin embraces Catholicism.—Anger of his uncle.
Letter of Father Billy.
The Bible Societies occasion the fall of the Society of Jesus.
Means which were employed to effect the idea of the Holy Alliance exposed, and proved to be a plot against the Jesuits, formed by Protestants and schismatic Greeks.
Ukase which banished the Jesuits from St. Petersburg.
Alexander alleges religious motives for his decree of proscription.
The *Invalide Russe* and Father Rozaven.
Secret causes of the Indulgence of the Emperor Alexander to the Jesuits.—Seizure of their papers.
Brzozowski writes to Alexander.—He demands leave to go to Rome.

The Empire of Russia becomes merely a province of the Order.
The Jesuits expelled from Russia.
Report of Prince Galitzin. .
The accusation contained in the report.
The Jesuits become missionaries.—Their labours.
Father Grivel on the Volga.
Father Coince at Riga.
His works of charity and popular education.—His institutions.
The Marquis Pallucci and the Jesuits.
Father Gilles Henri in the Caucasus.
The colonies of Mozdok.—Correspondence of the missionary.
The Russian Government proposes to the Jesuits not to go beyond the circuit of their missions.
The Jesuits refuse to adhere to this proposal.
Dispersion of the Fathers.
The Company of Jesus at Rome.
Interior labours of its members.
Situation of the Institute.—Its first Colleges.
The Noviciate of Saint Andrew.
Charles Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, becomes a Jesuit.
He dies in his noviciate.
Death of Brzozowski, General of the Jesuits.
The Father Petrucci nominated Vicar.—Settles the time for the general congregation.
The Cardinal della Genga and his opposition.
Petrucci orders the deputies of the Professed to delay their journey.
The Father Rozaven orders them to proceed.
New requirements of the Cardinal della Genga to interfere with the election.
Suspicions of the Jesuits.—They address the Pope.
Cardinal Gonsalvi encourages them.
Plan of the intrigues to oblige them to modify their constitutions.
The Congregation assembles.
Petrucci endeavours to get rid of the Fathers who suspect him.
The Congregation degrades the Vicar-General.
Louis Fortis is chosen chief of the order of Jesus.
Condemnation of those who had endeavoured to sow discord in the Institution.
Commissioners named for the revision of the Ratio-Studiorum.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER II.

pp. 61—129.

Father Landés arrives in Gallicia.
The clergy and people call for the Jesuits.
A College is founded at Tarnapol.
The Archbishop Raczynski returns into the Institution.
The enthusiasm with which the Gallicians receive the Jesuits.
The Emperor Francis II. visits the Jesuits.
Imperial decree which delivers the Jesuits from all the hostile measures against them by Joseph II.
The cholera in Gallicia.
The Archduke Ferdinand and the Archbishop Pistek.
Father Dunin and the poor students.
The Jesuits in Styria.
Father Loeffler at Gratz.
The Archduke Maximilian opens to them the fortress of Linz.—They enter the Austrian states.
Policy of Austria.
Religious liberty in England.
Position of the Jesuits and Vicars Apostolic.
The College of Liége.
The Jesuits retire into Great Britain.
Thomas Weld gives them his estate of Stonyhurst as a shelter for both the masters and their pupils.
Changed state of public opinion.
The English no longer hostile to the Company.
Progress of liberty.
Father Plowden and Father Lewall.
Emancipation of the Catholics.
Bill against religious vows.
The Jesuits found Colleges.—They build Churches.
Puseyism and conversions.
The Jesuits in Ireland.
Father Callaghan supports them.
Father Kenny founds the College of Clongowes.
The systematic degradation of the Irish.—How carried out.

The Jesuits try to advance religion and morality in Ireland.
They associate themselves with Father Mathew, founder of the Temperance Societies.
The Fathers in Holland.—Their labours to preserve the Institution.
The Jesuit Fonteyne and the Fathers of the faith.
Prince de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent.—He offers an asylum to the Jesuits.
Character of William of Nassau, king of the low countries.
His monarchical instincts and revolutionary friendships.
Discussion between the king and the Belgian Bishops.
The Jesuits expelled from their house by an armed force.
The Prince de Broglie opens his palace to them.
Condemnation of the Bishop of Ghent.
Execution of the sentence.
William obliges the Jesuits to leave the episcopal palace.
They restrain the indignation of the Catholics.
They emigrate.
Father Le Maistre in Belgium.
The Jesuits become the point of attack of the Catholic liberal opposition.
William becomes arbitrary.
Resistance to authority.
The constitutionalists of Belgium make an alliance with the Catholics.
MM. Gerlache and Potter.
Belgium Revolution.
The Jesuits recalled.
Father Joseph de Diesbach and Count Sinéo della Torre in Switzerland.
The Jesuits in the Valais.
Fontanes and the Fathers.
The Imperial University does justice to the Jesuits.
Swiss Radical tactics against the Company.
Ancient and modern Jesuits.
The Grand Council of Fribourg calls for them.
Mission of Father Roothaan into the Valais.
Gregory Girard and his method.
The Bishop of Lausanne and the Jesuits.
Tumult against the Jesuits.
Foundation of the College of Fribourg.
Labours of the Fathers of the Company.
They go to Dusseldorf, to Brunswick, and to Dresden.
Father Gracchi and the Royal Family of Saxony.
Father Ronsin converts the Duke and Duchess of Anhalt.
Father Beckx and the Protestants of Koethen.
Progress of the Jesuits in Switzerland.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It has been considered that the length of notes requisite to elucidate this history, if placed at the foot of the pages would interfere with the regular consecutive reading of the author, and that therefore it is preferable to append a Supplemental Commentary, which refers to the pages of the text; so that those who wish to test the veracity and credibility of the history may have an ample means of doing so.

The volume consists of eight chapters; and it is proposed to publish it in four Parts, each containing two chapters, with notes appended as to this. The rapid progress and the activity of the Society of Jesuits which exists in this country, in contempt of law, makes it desirable that the publication should not be delayed. If this Part is favourably received by the public, it is proposed to publish one of the succeeding Parts every quarter, so that the whole shall be completed within the year.

PREFACE.

We cannot present this translation to the public, without anticipating, with not unnatural sympathy, the sentiments of indignation which must pervade the breast of every honest Englishman when he shall have arrived at its conclusion. The imperturbed serenity with which the author lays claim to every earthly and divine perfection, on behalf of himself and the society of which he is the historian, would be almost amusing, if it did not present another and a more serious aspect. It is, alas! no unfounded aphorism, that men generally receive the price they set on their own merits, and that for one bold man of real merit who is duly appreciated, there are ten successful impostors who achieve more or less of influence over the mass of their fellow creatures by dint of audacity alone.

That this book has been for many years past in circulation upon the Continent of Europe, and in the United States of America, is well known; but its size and its price have probably restricted its circulation to the upper, or rather, we should say, the more wealthy classes of society.

We believe, however, that it is comparatively, if not altogether, unknown in England, and we trust that the publication of this partial transcript of the past progress and present position of the Society of Jesuits, as detailed by their devoted advocate, in an English form, may in some measure defeat their designs.

We are mistaken if the first sensation of the greater

number of our readers will not be a grievous feeling of betrayal, of abused generosity, of deceived intelligence; and we trust that the effect of this sentiment will be a strong and resolute determination to be no longer deceived and betrayed. That English statesmen, honoured and beloved by the English nation, have been made the agents of handing over the liberties of their country to the power of the Society of Ignatius Loyola, will hardly make submission to the results more palatable to the Protestant people of England; perhaps it will rather serve to arouse in them the spirit of their forefathers, and induce them to distrust those rulers who would seek to continue so fatal a policy.

In truth there is much room to doubt, if the "charity that hopeth all things, believeth all things," etc., is an excellent practical virtue in a statesman: but we shall have occasion hereafter to notice that the errors of those who admitted these enemies into our citadel, cannot, even in candour, be attributed wholly to simplicity; and while it would surely be unjust, to accuse them of having foreseen the full extent of the evils they were about to entail upon their country—the past history of the Society of Jesuits, and the experience of all the other nations of Europe, were sufficiently memorable to warn them from the deed they perpetrated; nor can we believe that they consented to entertain these "angels" entirely "unawares."

It is not now, however, with the past that we are called upon to concern ourselves, but with our present dangers, our present duties, our present responsibilities: that these are neither few or insignificant the state of this country and of Ireland can amply testify. We will cite in evidence the following:—"In times when the taste for criminal exploits was more general than now, such murders as are being committed in Ireland would have been the subject of daily gossip in half the families of the kingdom. They are so *obscure* in their origin, so *strangely skilful* in their execution

—they begin and extend, then suddenly cease, and are again renewed in a manner so *inexplicable* to every one who seeks to trace them out, that they will probably receive no little attention from any one who writes the history of these times. The stories that are current concerning them, though they may not be true, yet shew how general is the notion *that the organization is more than usually extensive.* It is even reported that the 'Vehm-gericht,' which pronounces on the fate of landlords and their agents in Tipperary, *is held not in Ireland at all, but in the English city of Manchester.* The Macaulay of the future will hardly be able to find, in the domestic annals of the present age, a more interesting subject for a chapter, than the agrarian crimes which are now infesting some of the Irish counties; and, perhaps, the most remarkable of them is the murder of Mr. Braddell, which took place a few days ago in the town of Tipperary."—*The Times,* August 2, 1862.

Again:—"Ireland is a country where, as a Longford witness naively said the other day, '*many very decent people are fond of murderers;*' and the sort of murderers of whom Ireland is fond, are just the very worst and most detestable sort, that the earth has seen since the days of Cain. The favourite Irish type of murder is agrarian murder, which means, murder in cold blood, murder on principle and system, murder without the excuse of natural human passion, murder planned and prepared for weeks beforehand, murder which dogs its victim and waits its opportunity, murder done for hire *at the bidding of a secret tribunal.* This is the type of crime that Ireland delights to honour, cherish, and protect, and that unites a whole community in the sacred bond of active or passive complicity. It is the damning feature of murder in Ireland that the guilt of one becomes, by adoption, the guilt of many. The Irish assassin is a representative man; he acts, not for himself alone, but for a vast constituency; his deeds of blood are owned and

approved by half a nation. . . . . If caught, it is quite uncertain whether a jury will be found to convict him, and if convicted and executed, he dies in all the odour of popular sanctity and martyrdom. . . . . In the meantime it would be very satisfactory to see some overt sign that the spiritual pastors and masters of the finest peasantry in the world interest themselves in the better observance of the sixth commandment. . . . . As it is certain that assassination is quite as objectionable, in a religious point of view, as mixed education, and that it is quite as unorthodox to screen and shelter assassins as it is to withhold contributions to Peter's pence, or to impugn the divine right of the Pope's temporal power, there is no *apparent reason* why the same zeal should not be displayed against Ribbonism, which is never wanting on behalf of the distinctive tenets of ultra-montanism. At all events it strikes one that the posting of murderers' notices on chapel doors, is a form of sacrilege which might appropriately call forth a rousing altar denunciation; it is not pleasant to be forced to the conclusion, that Dr. Cullen and his brethren only disapprove of murder languidly and in the abstract."—*Saturday Review*, September 13, 1862.

We have quoted purposely from those two newspapers, which have been notoriously the advocates of the largest concessions to the claims of the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith; and which have treated with contempt and ridicule the fears expressed, and the efforts undertaken by Protestant members of the legislature, and by public associations, to place the representatives of the nation on their guard, and to warn the nation at large of the danger of committing further power into the hands of the professors of this creed.

It is now nearly nine months since the perpetrator of the murder alluded to in these quotations has been at large, as may be fairly presumed, within the shores of Ireland. A reward, which is monstrous, no doubt, in the estimation of a

poor population, has been during that time offered to the acceptance of any single individual, who will be the means of discovering the murderer; it has never yet been claimed, and we are bold to say that we are convinced it never will be claimed by any one of his co-religionists.

We would not, however, be guilty of the foul aspersion on our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, of declaring that we believe that all, or even the greater number of them, are linked with that mysterious body, the Society of Ignatius Loyola; so far from it, we believe that the principles and practices of this society, when known to them, which is not often the case, are as abhorrent to the educated and enlightened Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, as to enlightened members of that church in France, Germany, Italy, and, in fact, in all Continental countries, even to Protestants themselves; we feel that in exposing and denouncing the evil deeds and designs of the Jesuits, we denounce a common enemy, and incur no risk of being supposed to involve all Roman Catholics in one sweeping condemnation. *Evidence of this is seen in the condition of Italy the last two years,* and in the previous records of other nations.

We have cited from the pages of our daily history, the evidence of the existence of *some secret society of which Roman Catholics alone are members;* that its agents in its deeds of blood and violence are ignorant and unlettered men; that its victims are their neighbours, sometimes their co-religionists, often their benefactors; that its exploits are conducted frequently in the open day, in the presence of numbers; that the perpetrators not only enjoy impunity but are honoured with applause; that the great body of the Roman Catholic priests give (to say the least) no efficient token of their disapprobation of this system, but rather offer a certain amount of excuse for lawlessness and violence, by exciting the passions of the lower classes against the legislature and landowners.

That these facts are palpable and manifest none can deny; and we appeal to the judgment and candour of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen and fellow-subjects, when we proceed to account for them.

In the pages of the *History of the Company of Jesuits*, by Cretineau Joly, we have fully detailed who were the agents of introducing into Ireland the system of education which they represent as the greatest boon which they could bestow on that oppressed country; he says, "The brief 'Dominus ac Redemptor' having annihilated the Company of Jesus, the children of Loyola would not be discouraged, like a flock of sheep, because their shepherd had abandoned them." . . . .

"They could not found a college in Ireland to receive the young men whom they hoped soon to gather into their order whenever it should again arise from its ruins. The college of Stonyhurst opened its bosom to receive some of them, others went to Palermo, where they completed their studies." . . .

"In 1811, the death of Thomas Betah broke the last link which, in Ireland, attached the new scholars to the ancient company. . . . . Father Kenny succeeded him in the month of November," and we shall presently see the character and zeal of Father Kenny and his confederates, and the favourable opportunities they enjoyed of carrying out their principles with energy and effect in Ireland. Cretineau informs us that in 1819 they had founded a college at Clongowes, and had more than two hundred and fifty disciples (pp. 92, 93).

These quotations manifest not merely the existence, but the activity and zeal of the Jesuits in Ireland during the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that at that time they were not only a body separated from, but discredited by the Roman Catholic Church, their order having been suppressed by the bull of Clement XIV., in which we find these memorable words:—

"After so many storms, troubles, and divisions, every good man looked forward with patience to the happy day which

was to restore peace and tranquillity; but under the reign of this same Clement XIII. the times became more difficult and tempestuous, complaints and quarrels were multiplied on every side; *in some places dangerous seditions arose, tumults, discords, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bonds of Christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party hatreds and enmities.*"

"Desolation and danger grew to such an height, that the very sovereigns whose piety and liberality towards the Company were so well known, as to be looked upon as hereditary in their families, we mean our dearly beloved sons in Christ the kings of France, Spain, Portugal and Sicily, found themselves reduced to the necessity of expelling and driving from their states, kingdoms and provinces, those very companions of Jesus; persuaded that there remained no other remedy to so great evils, and that this step was necessary in order to prevent Christians from rising one against another, and from massacring each other in the very bosom of our common mother the Church. . . . . .

"Actuated by so many and important considerations, and as we hope, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, compelled besides by the necessities of our ministry, which strictly obliges us to conciliate, maintain, and confirm the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic, and to remove every obstacle which may tend to trouble it; having further considered that the said Company of Jesus can no more produce those abundant fruits and those great advantages with a view to which it was instituted: . . . that, on the contrary, *it was very difficult, not to say impossible, that the Church could recover a firm and durable peace so long as the said Society subsisted;* in consequence hereof, and determined by the particular reasons we have here alleged, and forced by other motives which prudence and the good government of the Church have dictated, the knowledge of which we reserve to ourselves: . . . after a mature deliberation we do

out of our certain knowledge and the fulness of our apostolical power, SUPPRESS AND ABOLISH THE SAID SOCIETY; *we deprive it of all activity whatever, of its houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, lands, and, in short, every other place whatsoever, in whatever kingdom or province they may be situated; we abrogate and annul its statutes, rules, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even though confirmed by oath and approved by the Holy See, or otherwise. . . We declare all, and all kind of authority, the general, the provincials, the visitors, and other superiors of the said Society,* TO BE FOR EVER ANNULLED AND EXTINGUISHED, *of what nature soever the said authority may be, as well in things spiritual as temporal.*

"*Further, we will that if any of those who have heretofore professed the Institute of the Company, shall be desirous of dedicating themselves to the instruction of youth in any college or school, care be taken that they have no part in the government or direction of the same; and that the liberty of teaching be granted to such only whose labours promise a happy issue, and who shall shew themselves averse to all spirit of dispute, and untainted with any doctrines which may occasion or stir up frivolous and dangerous quarrels. In a word, the faculty of teaching youth shall neither be granted nor preserved but to those who seem inclined to maintain peace in the schools, and tranquillity in the world.*"

The remaining clauses of this bull provide against any reclamation against its edicts, declaring "our will and pleasure is that these our letters should FOR EVER, AND TO ALL ETERNITY, BE VALID, PERMANENT, AND EFFICACIOUS."

Their historian admits and even boasts that it was in direct defiance of the authority of this bull, that the Jesuits, supposed to be suppressed, effected *as Jesuits* an establishment in these realms.

But before the bull for their reconstitution the Pope, Pius VI., in 1800 had authorized the re-establishment of the Jesuits in Russia; thus encouraged, they appealed to him to

grant them the same privilege in England; he did so; and in May, 1803, by his authority Father Marmaduke Stone was appointed rector of the College of Stonyhurst, which Mr. Weld had given to them, and he was at the same time constituted provincial of the Order in England (p. 79).

Immediately on this, the old Jesuits came flocking from the continent to Stonyhurst—England was engaged in her terrible war with France. Cretineau says, "England was shaken to her centre. . . Pitt had neither the time nor the inclination to oppose the re-establishment of the Institute. England had been indifferent to its destruction, and believed herself strong enough to disregard its resurrection. Every eye was turned towards the Continent. The Jesuits took advantage of this pre-occupation, and in order that they might not be taken unawares they decided that a noviciate should now be instituted" (p. 80); that is, they prepared to secure the perpetuity of their body by initiating the youth of the country into their order.

It was natural, indeed, that the attention of Mr. Pitt should have been so engrossed by the fearful struggle in which his country was engaged, that the reconstruction of the Jesuits, conducted as it was by stealth, for the College of Stonyhurst was merely known as a Roman Catholic College, should have escaped his notice.

But that great statesman affords a painful example how completely a Protestant, who is ignorant of the real nature and principles of the Jesuits and of the Church of Rome, may be duped by a power with whose workings he is unacquainted.

It appears from the interesting life of Mr. Pitt, by Lord Stanhope, that at that very time when his services were most needed by his Sovereign and his country, he resigned his ministry because the King would not consent to grant political power to the Roman Catholics.* In his letter to the King in

* Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iii., p. 263.

the appendix to that volume, p. 25, he states "that those principles formerly held by the Catholics, which made them considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining, and among the higher orders particularly have ceased to prevail. That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the oaths which have been required in Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones. That if such an oath, containing among other provisions a denial of the power of absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so."

It is impossible to blame a man of such high and lofty principles as Mr. Pitt, for entertaining opinions which were the instinctive dictates of an honest mind, and which were in his day uncontradicted by immediate experience. He had probably been well acquainted with some of the refugees from the revolution, who, being members of the Gallican Church, and hating the principles of the Jesuits, led Mr. Pitt to feel that he was fully justified in the statements he had made to the King, and on which he was himself prepared conscientiously to legislate. Perhaps he had been not a little influenced by the answers sent by the foreign universities to those questions which the wily Charles Butler, instructed probably himself by some Jesuits, had induced him, in the unsuspecting integrity of his heart, to propose.

But how little did he dream that the Jesuit College of Louvain, which was the loudest in the denial of the principles involved in those questions, and in its expressions of astonishment that a man of Mr. Pitt's intelligence should propose them, was at that time indoctrinating all its pupils in those very principles that they were so clamorously denouncing. How little did he dream, when establishing the college of Maynooth for the education of the future priests of Ireland,

that the first command from Rome after its erection, transmitted through the Cardinal Prefect of the Propoganda to the bishops, who were the trustees of that college, would be to teach the principles which he had assured the King "were gradually declining," and those "obnoxious tenets" which he told his Majesty "had been disclaimed in the most positive manner by their oaths;" but which those bishops pledged themselves, in their answer to the Cardinal Prefect, to teach —a pledge which they have religiously redeemed to this day.

This command and this pledge were conveyed in language which Mr. Pitt, even had he seen it, would not have understood; for he would not have known that the book which was commanded to be made the standard of instruction in Maynooth, is the book which both by the constitutions and canons of the Jesuits is made the standard for their body;* so that none are to be permitted to teach who are not skilled in it; and teaches the violation of oaths, the persecution of heretics, the absolving subjects from oaths of allegiance, and all the essential principles of Jesuitism. Mr. Pitt had little idea that the Jesuits were glorying at that moment in the disastrous difficulties of this country, and that, as their historian informs us, they took advantage of those difficulties, and of his devoted anxiety for his country, to establish themselves within it, and prepare for the part that, we learn from this historian, they have afterwards played in its history.

When Mr. Pitt talked of the security of oaths, how little did he imagine that one of the principles of the religion he was advocating, as asserted by the standard of the college he had built, was, that a Romish bishop can grant himself a dispensation from any oath he may take; and that when he talks of an oath containing a denial of the power of absolution, Paschenius the Jesuit justly ridiculed the folly of the provision, with the contemptuous remark, "as if the power

* See Jesuits' edition of *Canons Rom.*, 1616, tom. i., p. 65.

that could absolve from one part of the oath could not equally absolve from the other."

We do not wish to anticipate the details which will appear in the perusal of the supplement, but it is important to sketch some of the most instructive facts which are to be deduced from the statements and admissions of Cretineau, who, while he labours to shew off his friends and brethren to the best advantage, affords abundant proof that they deserved the universal execration which led to their suppression by Clement XIV.; and that the attention of this empire should be steadily directed to their proceedings since their admission, or rather their encouragement within our shores.

To comprehend all Roman Catholics under one sweeping sentence of denunciation, infers an ignorance of the facts adduced by Cretineau. He shews that the Jesuits received the greatest opposition from the vicars apostolic in England; that, in fact, in his own words, "Constitutional France, liberal Spain, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and revolutionary Belgium, all united in one loud cry of malediction; but that in the country the most opposed to Catholic tendencies, that cry was destined to remain without an echo" (p. 82).

That is, all the Roman Catholic countries which knew the Jesuits by experience, detested, abhorred, and impelled the Pope to suppress them; but Protestant England, where the people were utterly ignorant of their real principles and character, afforded them toleration, protection, and encouragement. Yet Cretineau proves, that in England those who knew the principles of the Jesuits, but belonged not to their order, distrusted them as cordially as Roman Catholics on the Continent. Speaking of their establishment at Stonyhurst in May, 1803, he says, that "in this position the institute was likely to increase rapidly, when an obstacle was raised by the very authority which ought to have concurred in its propagation. At different periods there had been *serious conflicts* be-

tween *these missionaries* and the *Vicars apostolic*. The Jesuits interfered rather to assist the Catholic cause than from any spirit of domination" (p. 80); but that in despite of this the opposition of the Roman Catholic Delegates was strong, and continued up to the year 1845 (pp. 81—84). That owing to the publicity given to all events by the means of the press, "*such conflicts are no longer possible in England*" (p. 81). We have here the secret disclosed, why in this country, Roman Catholics dare not openly oppose, but must silently succumb to the power of the Jesuits; publicity would shew a schism in the body, and unity is boasted of as one of the marks of the Church.

It appears from Cretineau that the English Roman Catholics still entertained the belief "that the existence of the Jesuits in the bosom of the three kingdoms would arouse again the old ferment of discord" (p. 83). That in the year 1829 the bill for the emancipation of Roman Catholics from political disabilities passed the legislature, "which forbade all subjects of the British crown to bind themselves by any religious vows in England, or to return to reside there after having taken such vows in any other country;" that "*the Jesuits knew that this was directed against themselves, but they made no account of it*" (p. 85). That "they therefore remained silent and unmoved at the post confided to their vigilance, and that this post was so well guarded that, between 1826 and 1835, eleven churches were built by their labours. Even then, that movement towards Catholicism had begun among the noble and learned classes, which has since progressed with such rapidity that it is impossible to calculate its ultimate issue" (p. 86). That the heretics of Great Britain were more tolerant of Jesuitism "than men born in the bosom of the church of Rome," who would "strangle it by constitutions" of which they establish themselves "the sole interpreters and regulators." That in 1811 Father Kenny established a Jesuit "national" college at Clongowes (p. 92). That in 1840 they

joined Father Mathew (a Capuchin) in heading the temperance society movement, and that it was "under their care it spread with inconceivable rapidity" (p. 96).

Hence the temperance movement begun by Father Mathew, was converted by the Jesuits into a system of organization of the people parading with bands, party-tunes, flags, etc., under pretence of temperance.

That "in 1829 their numbers had augmented with THEIR ASCENDANCY; they were the bishop's *right hand;* they were the living models presented to the clergy by their prelates." And that "the general of the Company considered this to be a fitting opportunity to detach Ireland from the province of England. He nominated a vice-provincial to govern the Jesuits. . . . *This separation promised to produce fruitful results*" (pp. 96, 97), which we may be presumed to be now enjoying.

The proof of the complicity of the Irish bishops with the Jesuits, and of the truth of Cretineau's confessions, is proved by the fact that Dr. Murray, when he was president of the College of Maynooth, appointed Father Kenny vice-president of the College, and established among the students by his own confession "the sodality of the *Sacred Heart,*" which is the very special book of the Jesuits. Cretineau's description of Father Kenny, of his principles and objects, throws no little light on the subject. He informs us that Father Kenny succeeded Father Betah in 1811. That in despite of the bull of Clement, "with a patience which nothing could overcome, the Jesuits set themselves to work exactly as if the sovereign Pontiff had restored them to life. They felt the great disadvantage of that sort of cosmopolite education which, by displacing children from their country in their youth, gives them less of *patriotic* feeling. Ireland according to them had a right to see her children reared upon their own proscribed soil, in order that, nourished in her misfortunes, they might on some future day claim her emancipation with more energy.

It was this thought that inspired Father Kenny with the project of forming a national college, and he did create one at Clongowes," not far from Dublin. . . . "It was necessary to raise the Irish from the state of moral debasement in which it was the policy of England to keep them. To this people the great voice of Daniel O'Connell, *a pupil of the Jesuits,* first taught the meaning of liberty. It was necessary to teach them their duties, and then their rights. The Company of Jesus undertook the first task, and O'Connell fulfilled the second" (pp. 92, 93). We have here from Cretineau the plain statement of the thoughts and intentions with which Father Kenny was inspired; and his appointment by Dr. Murray as his vice-president and representative at Maynooth testify how amply the doctor partook of the inspiration.

It is thus manifest from the testimony of their own historian that the Jesuits were the political directors of the Irish people. We have seen how the first command from Rome, after the erection of Maynooth, was to train all the pupils in the doctrines of the Jesuits, and as the bishops were pledged to carry out the command it was impossible for Dr. Murray, as president of the college, to find a more efficient master as his vice-president and representative than Father Kenny, or a better book of devotion for the students than that of the *Sacred Heart,* the very essence of the Jesuits' devotion; and, accordingly, he not only appointed Father Kenny, but instituted a sodality of the *Sacred Heart* at Maynooth which was extorted from him by his own confession,* as we see in the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Education. But Dr. Murray, with his assistant Father Kenny, and all the Jesuits, were perfectly aware of their security under the wing of the government. Dr. Murray sent an envoy (Dr. Ennis) to the Pope, and in the memorial sent by that prelate, the security of the Jesuits and the other

* See Dr. Murray's evidence (pp. 409—411) compared with the examination of Rogers (pp. 436—439) and of Coyne (p. 443).

monkish orders from the bill of 1829 formed a prominent feature among the privileges derived from the British government. It states:—

"The law that emancipated the Catholics gave power to government to take an exact register, and that under severe penalties, of the age, residence, and number of every religious order in the three kingdoms, and gave the faculty of limiting their number and of excluding religious strangers, that is, monks of any nation whatsoever."

"Twenty years have now elapsed, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the English majority in both Houses of Parliament, no measures, either official or governative, have been taken to bring that law into execution, and, in fact, it remains at present a dead letter." We find therefore that, notwithstanding the provisions of the bill of 1829, the Jesuits were still so far tacitly favoured as that no investigation was made as to whether or not these provisions were carried out, and that when, in the words of Mons. Cretineau, "In 1841 a college was erected in Dublin under the auspices of St. Francis Xavier, *England took no alarm at this increase of Catholic influence*" (p. 97), and "Protestants understood that it was not their province to pursue their conquered enemies, *they left that care to Catholic courts*, and to writers who wished to destroy all religion."

The power attained by the Jesuits in England has been assuredly exercised with a great amount of discretion; their sphere of operations being circumscribed and confined, moreover, to a class of society more exposed to adverse influences. That their power is "felt" rather than known in England is certain; but in Ireland there has been not only no bar placed to their progress, but they have found in successive governments the most willing and devoted assistants in the furtherance of their aims. It is true that the politic assumption of humility, which is one characteristic of the order, forbids them to *boast* of their achievements, but still their enthusiastic

historian cannot suffer them to be defrauded of their just meed of honour: he says, "The Jesuits have only been able to realize in that country good without renown; good, without any of those social advantages with which the world believes them to be so much occupied" *(Hist.*, p. 91).

We are compelled, therefore, to seek beneath the surface to discover the blessings for which Ireland is indebted to those who thus—

"Do good *by stealth*, and blush to find it fame."

We have learned from the bull of Clement XIV. what had been the results of the teaching of these masters in France, Spain, Portugal, etc., etc.: we learn from their historian that, "by a strange reversal of all received opinion, it was in countries separated from the Catholic faith that the Jesuits prospered and increased:" we have, therefore, a right to expect a double portion of fruit from their labours in these lands, than could be looked for in those where their liberty was restricted and controlled.

Having the incontrovertible testimony of Cretineau as to the ascendancy obtained by the Jesuits in the Irish Roman Church ("the bishop's right hand, the living models," etc.), let us refer to the testimony of M. Dupin, the present Procureur-general of France, whether the estimate of the Company of Loyola, by the Roman Catholic laity, has improved since the time of the clamour of all Europe for their suppression.

"According to those who profess these anti-national doctrines, the Church *ought to form a sort of state within a state*, having its real sovereign in a foreign country, and its *laws distinct*. It pretends to absolute self-dependence, to be wholly independent of the laws of the country, which it braves, and of the magistrates whom it insults and defies. If this is not the spirit which should animate ecclesiastics to make them a clergy truly national, it is certainly the

spirit with which some *very active agents* have sought to indoctrinate the clergy, in order to make them wholly Ultramontane.

"Shall this spirit be suffered to prevail in France? Shall we allow it to take root in our country, in order to wage an incessant warfare against the spirit of patriotism, and against our national institutions? *for this is the question at issue and no other;* and to any person who seeks to discover the real facts of the case, without allowing himself to be misled by the hypocrisy of words, it may be truly declared that, *that which is agitated under the guise of a claim for liberty, is in reality a claim for domination.*

"But public opinion once warned, will not henceforth be deceived on the matter. It knows well the source from whence spring all these disturbances. . . . . *The Jesuits have reappeared,* . . . . . and this is an occasion to call to remembrance the words of one of the most eminently wise men of the seventeenth century, P. Dupuy, in the dedicatory epistle of his work, *The Liberties of the Gallican Church,* addressed to Matthieu Molé, then keeper of the seals, in 1651, during the period of the regency and the minority: 'I entreat you, my lord, to believe that the designs and efforts of these men are not to be despised; as the extraordinary noise of certain birds is a sure sign of coming rain, so we may divine, with equal certainty, that the strange commotion which these persons excite, is a presage that some plan is on foot disastrous for the state.'

"It is for the public authorities to resist; for the chambers to enlighten the government, to sustain it, to stimulate it, if necessary, and to lend it strength to maintain the independence of the nation, the dignity of the state, the liberty of the citizens, and the security of the public under agitations, which have religion for a pretext, as well as on all other occasions.

"There are laws in the kingdom, why are not these laws

executed? If they are insufficient, let new laws be enacted; but can we accuse those which we already possess of inefficiency, when no attempt has been made to carry them into effect?"

We have now established a series of facts, which viewed consecutively and together, will, we believe, greatly lighten the labours of the "Macaulay of the future," to whom the *Times* assigns the task of discovering the reason why Irish landlords enjoy such an uncertain tenure of existence, and the "local habitation, and the name" of the dread and secret tribunal, which, it may be "from the English city of Manchester," decides the fate of the inhabitants of Tipperary.

It is a grievous reflection to the moralist and the patriot, to consider how the anomalous and, apparently, inexplicable events which from time to time betray the existence of a social and political condition in Ireland, that should occasion only the serious emotions of grief, and pain, and pity in a humane and Christian mind, are treated in many of the public journals of England as partaking rather of the nature of a jest, a token of "national eccentricities," "developments of the Celtic temperament," etc., etc. This mode of treating the subject is equally opposed to sound philosophy and to moral integrity; the terrible and increasing demoralization of a nation, our fellow-subjects, our nearest neighbours, among whom education and the arts of civilization have been so largely diffused, is a problem not to be solved by a jest, but by anxious and careful study; we have the highest authority for affirming that it is only "*fools*," who "*make a mock of sin.*" We may hope that the light thrown upon the present and past relations of Ireland with the Company of Loyola, by the work of Mons. Cretineau, will cause all thoughtful men in England to consider henceforth that the solution of the "Irish difficulty" is a much more hopeful study, inasmuch as the condition of that country will appear entirely analogous to that of all other European countries in which this Company

were suffered to obtain power and influence, and the cause once discovered, the remedy cannot be far to seek.

The great mischief of treating this subject in a light and frivolous spirit lies in this. It furnishes a species of absolution to the public from entering into any earnest investigation of serious evils, and offers an opportunity to ignorant and shallow politicians to suggest, as remedies, measures which must inevitably increase these very evils.

When the *Times* and the *Saturday Review* gaily congratulate their readers upon the fact, that "all persons in England, except, perhaps, Mr. Whalley, are convinced that the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church teach that murder is a sin;" they virtually condemn, as vain and superfluous, the enquiry whether or not there now exists in that Church a sect, or a body, who have taught, and still teach, that under certain conditions *murder is not a sin but a virtue, a duty, an act which may tend "to the greater glory of God;"* and by thus ignoring, not only the events of past history, but the reasons for the constitutional protection demanded by the Roman Catholics of continental states against the encroachment and domination of this sect or order, they either betray an ignorance disgraceful to their capacity, as the guides of public opinion, or a complicity with that party who, unless sheltered by the veil of secresy, could not escape denunciation as traitors at once to the state and to humanity.

We will not believe that any English journalist could merit the latter charge; we willingly, therefore, give those the most entire credit for ignorance, who have hitherto advocated a forbearance from all investigation into the peculiar doctrines and teaching of certain orders in the Roman Catholic Church; and we trust that should it appear that the Protestant government of Great Britain has, by extending to its Roman Catholic subjects the largest measures of civil and religious liberty, virtually imposed upon them "a yoke which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear,"

giving liberty to Jesuits and priests to establish a spiritual despotism over the people; that the free and generous citizens of this country will hasten to lift from their fellow-subjects this cruel burden, or place them on at least equal terms with their oppressors; since to inflict Jesuitism upon a Roman Catholic community, is a tyranny which Roman Catholic kings and statesmen, and even Popes, when cognizant of the facts which these pages disclose, have been too liberal, or, perhaps, too prudent to perpetrate.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SIXTH AND LAST VOLUME.

HAVING finished the fifth volume of *The History of the Company of Jesus,* I was compelled to admit to myself that my work could not be called complete until I had summed it up, as it were, in a sort of comprehensive view, embracing the vicissitudes to which the Jesuits have been subjected since 1814, when Pius VII. re-established their Institute upon its ancient basis. There were many difficulties in the way to impede my design; the difficulty of writing of living men with the impartiality of an historian without anger and without flattery; the impossibility of procuring the necessary materials, owing to the prudent reserve of some parties, and the base chicanery of others,—these obstacles seemed to condemn me to a silence which I deplored; but I, nevertheless, submitted to the consequences, and I would willingly have waited with resignation for the dawning of a better day. But that immediately parties arose, some armed with the weapons of obscure and romantic stories, some with calumnies of a philosophic order, and some with downright false accusations, all bent on casting imputations upon the Order of Jesus, which could only defend itself by prayers, by the eloquent silence of useful and laborious works, and the exercise of universal and Catholic charity. I considered that amidst the uproar of these outrages it was only becoming the dignity of history to interpose her still calm voice.

It is not the design of this volume to adjudicate upon the acts of our predecessors, it is only with our contemporaries that I seek to deal. There is no occasion now to retrace the course of centuries, and interrogate the dusty archives of former ages. The history which I present to you has been transacted before your own eyes; the men whom I am about to depict to you by the detail of their deeds, their words, and their writings, are still alive and amongst you. Some of them have fallen from power, others have been borne into eminence by revolution, all being guided either by the inspiration of an unenlightened conscience, or paralyzed by the moral torture of a species of terror which seems ridiculous in the eyes of rational men.

This terror which it has been the object of some to impose upon the mass of mankind, by painting in exaggerated colours the power and the influence of the Company of Jesus, has never disturbed my reason. I have seen the Jesuits from the nearest point of view; I have studied them both in their private and in their public life, in their intimate correspondence, in their foreign missions, in their relations with the multitudes, and with the princes who ruled the multitude.

Up to the period of their re-establishment I have detailed their history; the unimaginable dangers they encountered, their daily self-sacrifices, the grievous duties and uninterrupted labours in which they engaged themselves.

At a period when truth uttered without acrimony, but also without fear of results, too often entails upon the independent author not merely unjust reproach, but accusations which need no confirmation of proof to command the belief of many, this work has been favoured with singular good fortune, for which, however, the success which attended *The Military History of La Vendeé* had already prepared me.

There is no doubt that I have defied many established prejudices, unmasked more than one imposture, torn the visor from many errors. In order to enable me to arrive at

this result, every advantage was bestowed upon me which an author could desire. The most precious materials derived from the *best* sources, as well as from the most *impure*, were placed at my disposal, and I have given the history of the events from the authority of so many who had the opportunity to view them in every point of their aspect, that none can cast suspicion upon the evidence to which I appeal, the evidence of documents, which confer such a vivid and unexpected illumination upon the facts of this history.

I have justified the Jesuits from the imputation of a number of impossible crimes, which, nevertheless, calumny had attributed to them actually because they were impossible, and yet the bitterest foes of the congregation have not ventured to contradict my testimony, or to convict me of Jesuitism. When earnest zeal for truth compelled me to condemn the reprehensible acts of certain members of the Company, and to blame those tendencies and opinions which seemed to me contrary to the spirit of the Institute founded by St. Ignatius de Loyola, the most enthusiastic friends of the society did not condemn my judgments. The Jesuits themselves were the first to applaud and respect this manifestation of independence.

By a favour, truly exceptional, both the hostile parties concurred in proclaiming my impartiality, and bowed before the severe truth of the historian.

The greater number of the newspapers in France, in England, in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, in Switzerland, and in the United States of America, have noticed this work. All these journals, taking each its view, have largely discussed its literary merits, but it never occurred to any one of them to insinuate a doubt as to the facts and the documents, which patient study and long voyages and fortunate discoveries put it in my power to reveal to the world.

I have recorded my unprejudiced judgment concerning the Company of Jesus. The political and literary critics of

Europe have examined my book with the same impartiality. I endeavoured always to keep within the bounds of justice, and I have met with justice in return, and I must say that in the midst of all the excitement and irritation which pervades contending parties, this general homage paid to my conscientiousness as an historian has impressed me deeply.

Innumerable counterfeits of *The History of the Company of Jesus* have been published out of France, and still more numerous translations of it have been made into every language, all serving to proclaim the success of a work, to which the boldness of truth has contributed much more largely than its literary ability.

I should not have extended my labours any further if the entreaties of friends, the wisdom of whose counsels completely overcame my personal inclinations, had not laid it upon me as a matter of duty, to complete the work which the Church and the Catholic world had welcomed with so much favour.

Like the poet, I have been condemned to pass through the fire. I have been called upon to give the explanation of matters inexplicable to those who live outside the circles of parliamentary intrigues. The task has been imposed upon me to demolish the fragile edifice of a grandeur, which existed only in the imagination of a few individuals who, by means of these falsehoods, attained popularity and fortune. I have been required to give, in minute detail, the proceedings of the Jesuits since 1814 up to the present time, for which purpose I was obliged to follow them throughout Europe, and over the continents of the New World. I was required to prove how much was real, and how much fictitious concerning the omnipotent power of a society, to which had been attributed the most disgraceful measures of the Restoration, the most bloody deeds of the reign of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, the obstinate resistance of the Catholics of Belgium to the Protestant reaction of William of Nassau. I was interrogated

concerning those events which, since the revolution of 1830, have been inevitably connected with the names of certain fathers of the Institute; they were accused without proof, but they have been defended with the eloquent indignation of conviction.

In public papers, and at the tribune in the council chambers of the Holy See, as well as in the midst of the calamities of civil war, the Society of Jesus were represented as the leading agents, breathing into the hearts of some the fiery spirit of social discord, and inspiring others with emotions of terror, in which they affected to share, in order the more effectively to communicate.

Before I consented to undertake to retrace this last phase of the Institute, it was essential that I should possess myself of every means of information that could throw light upon the subject, and study upon the spot those conflicts which the unwise ambition of some subaltern agents had provoked between the Holy See and the French Government.

I desired to fathom thoroughly the question as to the part taken by the Holy See and the Jesuits, in the drama of which Switzerland has been, and will again be the theatre. I wished to ascertain how, in despite of so many failures and after so many ardent struggles, the Company had been able again to reconstitute itself in Europe, and by what means it had regained throughout the world that moral authority which had been so warmly disputed, and by what mysterious combination of circumstances it had become, on escaping from its ruins, an object either of admiration or of terror.

I sought to appreciate, at a distance from Paris, facts so apparently contradictory, which malevolence, speculating upon credulity, took pleasure in misrepresenting in so extraordinary a manner.

It was repugnant to me to confine myself entirely to official declarations, which, in my eyes, were nothing better than cunningly devised legal fictions; I, therefore, went to

Rome, and, without asking any of the parties interested for secrets which did not properly belong to them, I saw enough, and learned quite enough, to give a faithful account of the diplomatic espionage; in which certain French priests had played a part as derogatory to the sacerdotal character with which they were invested, as to their personal dignity.

The relations of the Holy See with other powers have always a somewhat mysterious character. The pontifical court veils itself with reserve as with a garment. It knows that, besides those human interests which endeavour to win the support of its tacit or open approbation, it possesses a divine power, the influence of which it must maintain by concealing it from common observation. It seldom interferes when the faith or the conscience of a nation are not menaced, but in 1814, and again in 1845, it gave sufficient evidence of its prudent firmness to inspire the hope that it will always manifest the courage to enforce justice, as it has never ceased to have the courage inspired by virtue.

In the difficult circumstances in which the Company of Jesus was and is still placed, the Holy See has never misinterpreted them; for it was well aware that the outcry against the Jesuits, in Germany, in France, in Switzerland, and in Spain, was a note of war—the rallying cry uttered by the mocking hypocrites of revolutionary impiety, to summon the adherents of every species of fanaticism.

A pass-word was necessary for their preconcerted outbreaks, which, after having succeeded in subverting thrones, aspired also to cast down the rock on which God has built His Church.

To render their triumph more certain, they formed a conspiracy to associate the Papacy in a plan, of which they concealed neither the ramifications nor the aim. They endeavoured to draw the Holy See into the fatal path of concessions, but it saw the snare, and would not consent to be entrapped in it. They trampled over the Company of Jesus

in order to reach, almost without a blow, the heart of Catholicity. The common Father resisted entreaties hitherto unheard of in the former annals of diplomacy, menaces impossible to realize, fallacious promises, and hypocritical blandishments. He preferred to hearken to the voice of conscience rather than to lend an ear to gilded falsehoods. The Court of Rome followed the example of its head.

The history which I now write is taken from life; it will serve to manifest the power exercised by certain *words* alone, over imaginations big with credulity, or over malignant natures which take advantage of the stupid prejudices of others, to further their own selfish interests or impious designs. The history of the Company of Jesus was begun when the storm first threatened the Jesuits; it finishes at the moment when the tempest had burst over their head. Civil wars in honour of any political principle, or for the destruction of kings, or of the liberty of the people, are no longer possible; a feverish agitation is all that now remains throbbing in the heart of Europe—an agitation which, in the mind of all, has a strong religious tendency. Some desire at all hazards to maintain the integrity of their faith, while others aspire to crush down all true religion to the same level as innovations and infidelity.

The world has become in the nineteenth century once more a vast battle field of theology. This movement which can take so many different forms, but which reigns over France, England, Germany, Polish Russia, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Belgium, Saxony, Spain, Italy, and Switzerland, is not of a character to be arrested by the first obstacle, or to be put down by the caprice of a monarch.

The origin of this conflagration sprang from political disenchantments, from betrayed expectations, and from the desire of keeping the world attentive to the tumultuous voices of those intriguing men, whom accident thrust into temporary power.

These wicked adventurers set every earthly engine in motion for their own ends. Having no other God than their own interests, no other resources than their calculations of possible success, they sought to awaken those passions which they believed to be extinguished. And passions started up before the eyes of these mocking sceptics, armed with all the vital energies of ancient faith, or of the modern spirit of proselytism.

Europe now tends towards a dissolution of all faith in Christianity, or to a Catholic reconstitution. All will soon be ripe for the development of this supreme effort of human thought. Each party is preparing for this consummation, with means appropriate to its aim. When that day shall arrive, each will take its stand under the banner of its convictions, or of its ambitious dreams; each devoted to perish for its threatened faith, or to combat for legalizing atheism; already its reign is inaugurated, by calling down exile or death upon the head of the Jesuits.

I will neither defend the proscribed, nor attack those who proscribe them; this double rôle is fulfilled by the militant press, and would ill suit the dignity of history. It has never by my pen degenerated into either a panegyric or a pasquinade, and I hold it my duty to maintain the dignity of its independent impartiality. It is necessary that all the relative positions should be clearly defined, that all the facts should be revealed; for it is not merely the Institute of Loyola that is in peril, but Catholicity itself in its very existence. We will make no appeal to the passions, or to the hopes or the terrors of mankind, we will rest on truth alone for our support. If it is found to be often in opposition to errors skilfully accredited, or to exaggerations purposely devised; if it wounds selfish ambitions, unravels the web of wily intrigues, and tears away the mask from many diplomatic, parliamentary, and sacerdotal hypocrisies; it is not upon the historian that the charge should be laid, but upon the acts and the official

documents which testify concerning them. The author will have fulfilled his duty to the end, without considering the consequences which may result from a logical demonstration, but pursuing his narrative without fear, and yet without taunting reproaches, through a course of events which each party has endeavoured to misrepresent to the advantage of its own peculiar cause.

We have been in a position to penetrate into the secret of a great number of ingenious calumnies, which, let them proceed whence they may, are ever the offspring of cowardice or of treason, of rashness or of malice; it is necessary to expose their falsehood. While we respect individuals and their personal convictions, we may not, nevertheless, tamper with the duty of the historian; at a period when license is universal, we may not bid truth be silent.

J. CRETINEAU JOLY.

Portici, September 4, 1845.

HISTORY

OF THE

COMPANY OF JESUS.

CHAPTER I.

SCARCELY had the Society of Jesus been reconstituted in the Catholic world, when it found itself again banished from the empire which had been its second cradle from the cares of the Empress Catherine and Paul I. The day of restoration had arrived, and the kings of the house of Bourbon, following the example of the sovereign Pontiff Pius VII., endeavoured to repair the great iniquity against which Catherine of Russia and Frederick II. of Prussia had so energetically protested. The Jesuits were reinstated by the Holy See, and by the kings who had proscribed* the institution, at the very time when they were sent out of Russia, the country of their adoption. After having received them as exiles, Russia appeared to regret the good faith in which she had received them, and now denounced to Europe the very monks whom she had preserved from destruction. This change of tactics might have become fatal to the Company of Jesus; it exposed them to suspicions which tended inevitably to awaken old hatred, and embarrassed their first steps on a yet uncertain ground. The Czar, now at the highest pitch of power, both

Note 1, page i.

* Altered in Ed. 1851, p. 2, to "who had rejected the institution."

military and moral, might have been for the disciples of Loyola, his subjects or his guests, a most dangerous enemy. Alexander possessed sufficient rectitude not to allow his reasons for exiling them to be misunderstood. He made no mystery about it; he did not try to propagate against them those falsehoods which their enemies had at all times received with eagerness; their exile was caused by nothing that could dishonour their consciences, or be considered to do so in the eyes of mankind. It was produced by the rivalry of two religions. The Emperor and the Russian government represented it in these terms, and Europe accepted it as such; and to make it clearly understood, we have only to develope the events and characters which occasioned it.

Note 2, p. iv.

As long as the Jesuits were only few in number, occupying themselves in the reconstruction of their order, the Russian clergy and the teaching body never shewed any distrust of these proscribed men, and took no offence at their wonderful aptitude for the education and bringing up of youth; and they allowed them in the midst of White Russia, and in the colonies on the banks of the Volga, to propagate both the Scriptures and civilization. But when the friendship of the Emperor Paul I. for Father Gruber, and the very rapid success of a militia, still scarcely re-organized, and always as moderate as they were learned, had opened to the Jesuits a very large field of action, the Popes and professors of the University of Wilna felt that a fearful blow was about to fall on their omnipotent power. The comparisons drawn by all sensible men shewed to their disadvantage. They avowed to themselves their own inferiority on all human learning as well as divine knowledge. Too much humbled, too much depressed by serfdom to raise themselves from this state of normal debasement, they nevertheless would not consent to lose the last gleams of power which alone assured their precarious existence. A Russian Pope does not hold the same position as a Catholic priest; he can never inspire the same implicit obedience,

and he never has possessed the same education, charity, or zeal; he is never seen as the almoner of the rich, and the father of the poor, inspiring in every class respect and confidence. The exhibition of virtues which the Jesuits presented to them, the consideration they enjoyed, the whole of the duties accomplished by them, all combined to produce a deep impression on the schismatic clergy: their admiration soon degenerated into jealousy.

It was impossible to imitate the Jesuits, either in teaching or in their apostolic labours. The Greek priests and the professors of the university united and carried on a species of underhand war against them. They watched their words; they misrepresented their thoughts; they endeavoured to render their most indifferent actions liable to suspicion; they called the national pride into play against them; they affected chimerical fears as to the perpetuity of the religion of the country, which they pretended was endangered by proselytism, and when they had succeeded in sowing the seeds of fermentation in the hearts of the people, they awaited until a proper moment should arrive for its favourable development. The hour was not long delayed.

Alexander had followed, as regarded the Jesuits, the same line of conduct which had been pursued by his father and also his grandmother. He protected and encouraged them, and in 1811 he allowed them to go into Siberia. A mission had been formed in its inhospitable deserts, for the Christian heart of the Emperor would not allow him to abandon the Catholic exiles, or those whom the hope of gain retained in the midst of ice, to the want of all religious help. Three fathers of the Company, named by the monarch, gave themselves up to the fulfilment of his wishes, and in the same year others went to Odessa. That rising colony is indebted to two Frenchmen for the most astonishing part of its prosperity. The Duke de Richelieu and the Abbé Nicolle saw each in his own peculiar sphere the triumph of the plan of govern-

ment and education, which they themselves had proposed. They desired the Jesuits to give to their work all the extension of which it was susceptible, for they wished to enlarge the circle of social progress as much as possible. The missionaries of the institution had the gift of languages, and by persuasion and charity they gained an irresistible ascendency over the barbarous people. They united them into families in order to teach them little by little to bless the yoke of civilization, and the emperor wished to associate Richelieu and Nicolle with himself in these projects. Other children of St. Ignatius were sent by him to Odessa; that city soon became the centre of a new mission, which spread throughout the Crimea the blessings of Christianity.

Father Thadeus Brzozowski watched over the labours of the order of which he was the head. He knew that the dominant idea of the Emperor was nothing less than the propagation of knowledge in the most distant lands. In order to second so laudable an intention, Brzozowski did not fear to engage in a struggle with the ambition of the universities. Gifted with a rare intelligence, and a tenacious and patient spirit, he knew himself to be supported at the court of Russia by a man who enjoyed there an authority due rather to his genius than his diplomatic title. Count Joseph de Maistre, the ambassador from Sardinia to the Czar, had, in the frankness of his avowed convictions, and the somewhat absolute sternness of his character, declared himself in favour of the Jesuits; he supported them as one of the keystones of the social arch, and the laborious work of producing a plan for the education of the public; he urged Brzozowski to create for his institution an entirely independent position.

Note 3, p. vi. The houses of the Jesuits had been under the jurisdiction of the university from their first establishment. It was essential for them to obtain an enfranchisement from the authority of the colleges, and from the anxiety which the system of monopoly never ceases to produce, and which might com-

promise the future. Discussions had more than once arisen between the Academy of Wilna and the fathers at Polotsk. The university wished by tricky supervision and minute orders to subvert in its very essence the education given by the Jesuits. It contravened them in their direction and in their progress. They wished that all the young men on leaving the college belonging to the Company should enter their university, there to complete their education.

The University of Wilna, reinforced by a great number of foreign doctors and cosmopolite tutors, at that time advanced anti-catholic principles. It certainly did possess an indisputable right to profess the religion of the state, and even to insist upon that religion being respected in every pulpit, but this right did not extend to discussing the faith of other Russian subjects, and endeavouring arbitrarily to destroy it. The Jesuits there, as everywhere else, invoked liberty. Submissive to the inspection of the visitors of the university, the fathers did not oppose the rigorous examinations to which their pupils were subjected. This state of legal inferiority did not in any way injure the Society of Jesus; but it kept up a constant irritation in the minds of both the novices of the Company and the professors of Wilna, which might at length have prevented their devoting themselves to serious studies. This question of pre-eminence had often been discussed from two points of view; but the debates now took a wider sphere; little by little it had become a state question. Father Brzozowski endeavoured to bring this unsettled state of things to an end, and on the 24th of August, 1810, he wrote to Count Rasoumoffski, Minister of Public Instruction: "Two rival bodies mutually prevent each other from doing harm. It is without doubt very important that the youth of a state should be brought up in principles of patriotism, in sentiments of submission, and of respect and devotion to the person of the sovereign. But what certainty is there that these principles will be carefully inculcated in the universities,

Note 4, p. xii.

in which so many of the professors are only connected with the state by the appointments they receive from it, and who have different and independent interests from those of the state, and who appear for that reason more likely to extinguish than to kindle patriotism in the heart of youth?" The Jesuits found that their mode of teaching and its results were attacked by these men, who had been called from the east and the west to cultivate Russia. The children of Loyola defended their *ratio studiorum*. The university, jealous of its privileges, and confiding in its monopoly to popularize the progress of literature and science, asked to have the fathers placed under the subjection of their laws and their rules. The Jesuits, on the contrary, asserted that from an open competition of these different methods a stronger-minded generation would arise. With the intention of stimulating emulation, without crushing either the one or the other, the Jesuits proposed to the Emperor to erect their college at Polotsk into a university, under the immediate and especial supervision of the government. On the 11th of September, 1811, the general of the order addressed a note to Count Rasoumoffski, in which is said, "We ask absolutely nothing but to be maintained in the possession of the properties we already enjoy. What renders the universities so expensive to the state are the salaries of the professors, who are often obliged to be sent for at a great expense from foreign countries. As to ourselves, our order furnishes all the professors whom we require, and each of these professors gives their care and their labour without any salary, and without expecting any temporal benefit, solely to fulfil the duties of their vocation."

This correspondence of Father Brzozowski with the minister of the Czar, the notes which Alexander examined, and which accorded so well with his sense of justice, and the prayers of his Catholic subjects, contain much real ability, and truly form within themselves a theory of education. What the Jesuits and the inhabitants of White Russia asked

for was perfectly just. Alexander understood it to be so; but around him, and in the inferior offices of state, prejudices existed, ambition, and rivalries of sect or of worship, which were opposed to this act of emancipation. Some declared the Greek religion to be endangered; others demonstrated that very soon the Jesuits would take possession of every branch of public administration; and all agreed in saying that the Jesuits abused the liberty allowed them to supersede all the other teaching corporations. It appeared almost an impossibility to the children of Loyola that they should obtain what they asked for, when Count Joseph de Maistre threw himself into the dispute with his cutting eloquence and his reasoning, which went always straight to its aim, without regarding any obstacles.

Note 5, p. xiv.

Count de Maistre was rather a great writer and bold thinker than a diplomatist. There was in his mind and heart a superabundance of life, such a complete devotion to the opinion which appeared to him to be truth revealed or demonstrated by reason, that he carried it triumphantly as far as it is permitted to human weakness. The half measures of party spirit, the delays of consideration, the difficulties of time and place, nothing could obstruct the rising sap of his genius, overflowing every subject he touched upon, and leaving on each its living impress. Possessed with a love of the true, the good, and the just, but perhaps not sufficiently distrusting his own cutting irony, his own originality, and his passion for polemics, Joseph de Maistre had obtained at St. Petersburg a position as new as it was decided. An ardent Catholic, he had known how to create for himself, among the schismatic Greeks, friends who honoured his faith, who esteemed his private virtues, and who were proud of his genius. The struggle between the Russian universities and the Jesuits was deadly; for on one side it was a question of giving themselves a rival; and on the other, of life or death. The ambassador of Sardinia at the court of the Czar

had, in fact, nothing to do with these internal disputes; but the Catholic saw in them a mission to be fulfilled, and he took it upon himself.

Brzozowski had fought the University of Wilna with the arm of logic; de Maistre raised the question to as high a point as he had done. Alexander was occupied in founding education in his empire. From duty, conviction, and gratitude, the great Piedmontese writer—he who has enriched the French language by so many celebrated works—came to offer his tribute to the cause of religious and paternal liberty.

The general of the Jesuits addressed himself to the Minister of Public Instruction. It is to the same person that Joseph de Maistre addressed himself. In his five letters still unpublished* he does not only plead for the Company of Jesus, he has almost involuntarily enlarged the sphere of his opinions; he developes the system which he thinks the best suited to the morals, the character, and the laws of Russia. He brings to this work a prodigality of new imagery and sketches which arrests attention; then when he has taken possession of his subject, he passes in his fourth letter to his principal aim. The three first notes belong to philosophical ideas; the two last, in their entirety and in their details, are consecrated to the Society of Jesus. Joseph de Maistre examines it in its connection with the people as well as with kings, placing before his eyes a picture of the follies and crimes which a revolutionary spirit have produced; he exclaims in a prophetic accent which the events of 1812 have not less exemplified than those of 1845, "This sect, which is at the same time one and many, surrounds Russia, or more truly may be said to penetrate into all its parts, and attack it even at its deepest roots. It only asks, for the moment, the ear of its children of all ages and the patience of sovereigns, reserving the great explosion until the last." Then after having traced these lines, always more true as you extend the

* In page 7 of the edition of 1851 the word *unpublished* is omitted.

revolutionary circle so unfortunately enlarged by the carelessness of princes, Joseph de Maistre adds, "In so pressing a danger there is nothing more useful to the interests of his imperial majesty, than a society composed of men essentially inimical to those, from whom Russia has everything to fear; above all, in the education of youth. I do not believe it to be possible to substitute with advantage any other preservative. This society is the watch-dog which you must beware of sending away. If you will not permit him to bite the thieves, that is your affair; but at least allow him to roam around your house, and awaken you when it may be necessary, before your doors are broken open, or that they have made their entrance by the windows." The diplomatic writer has an answer ready for every objection. He then goes on to establish how the Jesuits understand sovereign power by similitudes borrowed from military usage. He goes on to demonstrate that they never had sought to create for themselves an authority independent of the constituted authorities.

"The Jesuits," they say, "wish to make a state within the state." What an absurdity! it is as much as to say that a regiment wishes to make a state within a state, because they wish to depend upon their own colonel, and that he would consider himself injured, for example, and even insulted, if it were submitted to the examination and under the control of a stranger colonel. He does not shut himself up in his own quarters to manœuvre it; he does it in the public place. If they do not perform their drill properly, the inspecting generals, or even the Emperor, could see it, and set them to rights. But that under the pretext of unity, this regiment (which I suppose to have been famous and irreproachable for three hundred years) should be deprived of the power of regulating itself, and submitted with all its officers to a captain of militia, who had never drawn a sword, is an idea which would be very laughable, if the results did not become extremely fatal. To this, nevertheless, M. le Count, we have

reduced that burlesque bugbear of "a state within a state." A state within a state is a state hid in a state, or independent of the state. The Jesuits, like all other legal societies, and even more so than any others, are under the hand of the sovereign. He has only to let it fall, and they are crushed.

Note 5, p. xiv. Brzozowski had prepared the triumph of the Society of Jesus; Count de Maistre decided it. In 1812 the college of Polotsk was erected by the Czar into a university, with all the privileges of the other academies; this concession was made on the eve of those calamities and glories of which Russia was to become the theatre. Napoleon carried war even into the bosom of the Muscovite empire; he menaced its nationality: and preoccupied by still graver cares than those of Public Instruction, Alexander called upon his people to resist this unjust aggression. The Russians answered the call of their sovereign with the most sublime devotion. Brzozowski was a Russian. Without taking any part in a struggle from which his sacerdotal character forcibly withheld him, he thought that the circumstances in which the empire was now placed, were the forerunner of the reconstruction of his order.

Spain, given up to a brother of Napoleon's by one of those strokes of policy of which the din of battle can never drown the iniquity, and weakened under its last king, had re-found in the remembrance of Pelago a new baptism of power; at the call of her priests and her guerillos she rushed forward to maintain her independence. The Jesuits believed that the hour for their re-entrance into the Peninsula had struck; their name was popular there: a long regret had followed them to the country of their exile. They could return benefits to the family of Bourbon for the outrages they had received from them, and victims of the errors of Charles III., they could labour for the restoration of his posterity. On the 28th of August, 1812, Brzozowski resolved to set out on his journey into Spain with five other fathers of the institution, for the purpose of preparing the return of the Company. Spain was

the battle-field opened for the enemies of the revolutionary opinion. The Jesuits sought to go there to combat with the arms suited for their peculiar use. In the meantime Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, asked of that country which had risen against France, the honour of continuing under the banner of Spain his apprenticeship in war, and the power of re-establishing a name so fatally compromised in the excesses of 1793. In the month of November, 1812, the Minister of Religion, Prince Alexander Galitzin, answered the general of the Jesuits in the following terms :—

"Very reverend Father,—I have placed under the eyes of his Imperial Majesty the letter which you wrote to me on the 30th of October, as well as the note which it is your intention to present to the Supreme Junta concerning the re-establishment of your order in Spain. His majesty has commanded me to inform you that he will place no obstacle to the execution of your project, but without taking any other part in this transaction,—its object being of a nature entirely foreign to him,—as the establishment in question is to take place beyond his empire."

While the Jesuits were endeavouring to regain the ground they had lost from the machinations of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, there was being organized in the bosom of Russia a combination of interests employed in preparing their fall. This combination was—the Bible Society. The invasion of the French army on the Muscovite territory had drawn England and the cabinet of St. Petersburg together. England was the natural ally of those states of which Napoleon was the declared enemy. England offered to assist Alexander in his struggle against the man whose day-dream was the annihilation of Great Britain. As an earnest of this treaty, which was to change the face of Europe, England obtained in 1811 that the London Bible Society—that immense bazaar which covers the world with its productions, and transforms a work of piety into a mercantile speculation

Note 6, p. xvi.

—should establish a branch association in St. Petersburg. Some months later, the Drs. Patterson and Pinkerton entered the Russian territory, charged with the mission of translating into the Russian language the Protestant Bible.

The burning of Moscow, the calculated disasters and victories of his army, victories not entirely due to the ability of its generals or the courage of its soldiers, present griefs and future hopes, all contributed to modify the impressionable character of Alexander,—a loving soul, but always endeavouring to take refuge in mystic opinions to escape from the reality of his internal troubles and his recollections. The Czar feared the responsibility which events had accumulated upon him. In the midst of his devastated cities, his bloody fields, and his armies conspiring, with the cold, to annihilate the French army, that prince still young, and always handsome, now raised his heart towards heaven; he wished to calm those fleeting impressions which agitated his mind incessantly. Pleasure had left him almost as indifferent as glory had done. His ambition was to attain internal peace. Galitzin indicated to him the Holy Scriptures as the source of all consolation. His mind at once received it; he listened in silence to the voice of God which now made itself heard. The Vulgate translated into French, had been to him the book of consolation. It was at this moment that it was proposed to him to place in the hands of all Russians, the Divine work which had triumphed over his languor, or over his unavailing remorse. No one explained to him the difference of the two Bibles; he never imagined that the hand of man could have dared to alter the primitive text of God's own Word. From gratitude for the blessing which the reading of the Vulgate had produced on his feelings, on the 18th of December, 1812, he authorized the establishment of the Bible Society.

The Emperor had allowed himself to be deceived; Prince Galitzin his Minister of Religion, the highest functionaries of

the State, the majority of the Russian bishops and Stanislas, Siestrzencewicz, Archbishop of Mohilow himself, declared themselves the patrons of this institution, which was hereafter to deal a mortal blow both to the Greek religion and Catholicism. There existed at that time in Russia one of those enthusiastic manifestations in favour of the Bible Society, which at this distance of time it is impossible to account for. Anglicanism set its foot on the borders of the Black Sea, and also on the banks of the Frozen Ocean; it extended itself even to the confines of China. The Catholic prelates excited by Galitzin, being used as blind instruments for its propagation, encouraged their flocks to favour this work, of the tendency of which they were themselves ignorant. The Jesuits never lent themselves to this movement towards heresy. More accustomed than the Russian bishops to the struggles of opinion, more able to understand the mischiefs resulting from this innovation, they opposed it with a firmness which the menaces and the entreaties of Galitzin, who up to this time had been their protector and their friend, could never conquer.

Note 7, p. xvii.

Pope Pius VII. expressed his grief and his surprise in a brief addressed to the Archbishop of Mohilow; he blamed him for having co-operated in the triumph of Anglicanism. The blame so justly bestowed upon the prelate, was an indirect homage paid to the disciples of St. Ignatius, who, more fully imbued with the true spirit of the church, had refused to make common cause with error. The partizans of these Biblical associations took offence; they imagined that in the Jesuits they should find indefatigable adversaries, that their success would be constantly impeded, and, under the inspiration of the Minister of Religion, they entered into a league against the Company of Jesus. The Jesuits had just resisted a wish of Galitzin's. Galitzin called the fury of the universities to aid his hopes, and they now awaited a favourable opportunity for the conspiracy to break forth.

The Anglican propaganda had organized itself under the shelter of the Russian ministers, and under that of the bishops of the Roman as well as those of the Greek ritual. The Jesuits now determined to countermine them. They composed a Catechism, in the idiom of the country, for children born of Catholic parents. But Galitzin would not authorize its being printed. Things were in this state when events occurred, which reopened the wounds which were still bleeding in the heart of the minister. The favour which the college of the Jesuits of St. Petersburg enjoyed was continually increasing, and at Polotsk they now counted in their ranks many young men of the highest families of the empire. Placed between the natural wish of proselytism, and the duty of tacitly respecting the consciences of their pupils, a duty which was self-imposed upon them, the Jesuits had never given occasion for complaint on this very sore subject. Catholics to the very bottom of their hearts, they trained in morals as well as in literature children who belonged to all forms of religion, even those of the Greek ritual; and during the space of more than forty years their circumspection had never failed. No person had ever been able to accuse them of having betrayed the confidence of parents for the benefit of the Roman faith. Nevertheless, the number of Catholics was yearly increased.

Note 8, p. xxii.

This reaction towards unity was owing to the activity of the French emigrant families, to the reading religious books, and above all other causes, to the prudence combined with zeal of the Jesuits. The Czar had shut his eyes to a state of things which could not have any alarming effect on the safety of the country.

The newly converted Catholics distinguished themselves in the world and at court by new virtues, and Alexander did not wish to make them repent of having listened to the voice of conscience. A prince who perfectly comprehended liberty of thought, he did not dare confine it within the limits of

legal arbitrary power. He had sought for truth himself, and he did not disapprove of the Russians following his example. Conversions, nevertheless, rarely occurred, because the fathers did not encourage them or sanction them till after a long trial had been made. These conversions remained unperceived, when towards the middle of the month of December, 1814, the young Prince Galitzin, a nephew of the Minister of Religion, publicly embraced the Catholic faith. Here is the account which Father Billy, in his correspondence, still unpublished, with his brothers in France, gives of this conversion :—

"Our Father Gloriviere," he writes from St. Petersburg on the 1st of March, 1815, "is at the head of a numerous noviciate at Paris, in the Rue des Postes. There will be a Company of Jesus in France, in fact, before it can exist there by right. As to our existence here in St. Petersburg it is doubtless very useful, but very precarious and much contravened, and more so during the absence of the Emperor: the jealousy of the popes and Russian bishops is the principal cause. The Minister of Religion, Prince Alexander Galitzin, still a young man who allows himself to be led by the popes, never leaves us in peace wherever he can, or imagines he can, find a proper opportunity of gratifying their and his own animosity. A month or two ago, a circumstance occurred which has made a great noise here, and from which consequences must follow. A young Prince Alexander Galitzin, a nephew of the Minister of Religion, a pupil of our institution for the last two years, and about fifteen, an excellent creature in every respect; pious, diligent, successful in his studies; polite, docile, and remarkable for his attachment to the Russian Church, even wishing to persuade his friends among the Jesuits to join it in his anxiety for their souls, and taking for that reason two or three times a week regular lessons from a doctor of Russian theology, he was suddenly found to have changed so completely, as to be on the point of declaring himself a Catholic at the last of the Christmas festivals.

How great was the astonishment of all the world, particularly of those who had seen and heard him speak in favour of the Russian religion. Summoned by his uncle, the Minister of Religion, who represented to him the danger he would incur, shewing him that the Russian law forbids any person from drawing to the Catholic religion any Russian subject; he explained his belief with precision and firmness, and said that he was ready to seal it with his blood. They tore him from our institution, and placed him in the corps of pages with his younger brother, and at the same time forbade him to have even the slightest communication with any of the Jesuits. Then came a still greater astonishment, for it was discovered that he possessed a hair shirt and a discipline. Good God! what is here? He had taken these instruments of mortification from the room of a Jesuit who had left St. Petersburg to go to Polotsk. They made him appear before the bishops and popes, who questioned and argued with him. He answered in a manner which excited the surprise of all who heard him, and which placed them themselves *ad metum non loqui*. They attributed his facility in controversy to the Jesuits, though the Jesuits had nothing to do with it. They now await the return of the Emperor to know his decision on the subject. In the meantime the Jesuits receive no Russians into their institution, only the Catholics, in order to withdraw themselves from the intrigues of the popes.

"But there are still other subjects which occasion rancour. Several distinguished persons are suspected of being Catholics, and spies are employed to watch them. It is truly a persecution. The Jesuit missionaries in Siberia are forbidden to make the idolatrous Tartars Catholics: they ought, it is said, to confine their care to the Catholics alone; they forbid them to confess or administer to the united Greeks, who have no priests belonging to their communion. This is most inconceivable; this is what is called toleration, about which we hear so much in this country under the Galitzin ministry of religion!

"The town of St. Petersburg at this moment presents us the curious spectacle of two Prince Alexander Galitzins, an uncle and a nephew. The first, the violent persecutor of the Catholic religion and the Jesuits; the second, a zealous and imperturbable Catholic, the defender of his masters, and only asking to die for his religion; living in a way to merit such a blessing, if this predestined blessing can ever be merited. After having vainly endeavoured to bring him back to schism by arguments, they are now trying the influence of pleasure, and they take him to the play. But up to this time this argument has been as ineffectual as the other."

In their most intimate correspondences the Jesuits deny ever having had any participation in the conversion of this ardent neophyte; they do not boast themselves of it, but they do not accuse themselves. The young Galitzin has taken this course of himself. Father Billy very naïvely gives an account of this return to the Roman faith in its different phases, and there he stops. Prince Alexander declared that no disciple of the institution had endeavoured to induce him to change his form of worship. He even persisted in saying that he could not find one who would receive his abjuration. The letter of Father Billy fully corroborates these facts. But truth was not sufficient to satisfy the actively wounded self-love of the Minister of Religion, or the anger of the popes: they organized a conspiracy, in which they endeavoured to rally all the interests of sect, all the vanity of the universities, and all the prejudices of the nation. It was necessary to predispose the minds of men for a general rising against the Jesuits. They applied themselves to misinterpret their most indifferent acts; they altered the sense of all their words; they watched them in their pulpits; they followed them even to the foot of the confessionals and of the altars. Father Balandret, who had gained a justly-merited confidence throughout St. Petersburg, was a Frenchman, and to him they directed their most minute investigations. They inter-

Note 9, p. xxiv.

rogated the pupils of the colleges belonging to the institution, and pressed those who had left it for two or three years to reveal the importunities by which they had been beset to induce them to embrace Catholicism. These young men answered that the Jesuits had never spoken to them on difference of religions, and that they were allowed to practise their own with complete liberty.

Galitzin and the Bible Society undermined the ground beneath the feet of the Jesuits; the metropolitan Amboise and the universities seconded their views with rare address. It was essential to predispose the Emperor and Empress, who on their return, after the campaign of 1815 and the treaty of Paris, were to give the last blow to the company. All was arranged with this view; the conversions were not more numerous than they had been in former years; but the authorities surrounded them with a disquieting *éclat*. Until this time their imperceptible returns to unity had been kept secret, but now so much publicity was given to them that one might have supposed that in every family might be found a Jesuit who directed everything in it. The great interests which were then the subjects of debate in the world,—Napoleon vanquished, Europe triumphing at Waterloo, exhausted France, the Bourbons re-established on the throne, the Holy Alliance promulgated,—all these events seemed as nothing at St. Petersburg before the silent attitude assumed by a few fathers of the order of Jesus. The Czar had thrown into the balance of European power the weight of his sword, and the scale inclined according to the wishes of the Russian diplomatist. Alexander had imposed law upon the Congress of Vienna; he inspired the constitutional charter of Louis XVIII.; legitimate kings hailed him as the liberator of monarchy. All these glories coming at the same moment, which ought to have rendered his subjects intoxicated with pride, were effaced at once by some obscure preaching in a Catholic church. Russia had placed herself at the head of

Note 10, p. xxiv.

all nations, and its bishops and its ministers pretended that they trembled with fear because a small number of ladies who belonged to the court renounced its too exciting pleasures to listen in silence and solitude to the voice of God then speaking in their hearts. This position, which the Jesuits had in no degree provoked, exposed them to a double danger. They were accused of making proselytes of persons whom they had never known; some persons presented themselves before their tribunal whose entreaties it was impossible for a priest to reject. Persecution engendered faith; this produced neophytes. Such was the position when Alexander returned to his capital; the great crisis over which he presided, the debasement of some, the elevation of others, the inconceivable changes which were still felt throughout Europe, had given a gloomy turn to his thoughts. He had examined men and things so closely, that a complete disgust had taken possession of his morbidly impressionable heart. In order to fill up the void, he threw himself unreservedly into the new world of mysticism which the Baroness de Krüdener had opened to the view of a mind satiated with pleasures, with ambition, and glory. Alexander gave himself up to certain beliefs, resting on no fixed principle, and he aspired to impose them upon others as convictions. But he had neither sufficient vigour of intellect or perseverance of talent to attain this object. People flattered him with the idea that he might appear as the visible head of ancient Christianity regenerated by himself. This was the idea brought before his imagination to induce him to misuse the Jesuits of his empire. He flattered himself that he had reunited, in the same vow of fraternity, all the dissentient forms of worship introduced by him into the Bible societies; they were to be the privileged instruments, for this fusion of every pious sect which reposed under the shelter of his sceptre. The Pope was no longer to be the centre of unity. The reign of Catholicism was to give place to a union of all Christian nations. Alexander knew

Note 11, p. xxiv.

the Jesuits would never consent to such a Utopia. Anxious to accelerate its progress, he allowed that hatred, which he found so ardent in those who surrounded his throne, to lull his justice to sleep; they talked to him of destroying the Company of Jesus, of commencing the work by banishing them from St. Petersburg. The Emperor, who would never have consented at once to this iniquity, gave way to the importunities of his ministers and popes. And on the 20th of December, 1815, issued the following ukase:—

"Returned after the happy conclusion of the exterior affairs of Russia, to the empire which God has committed to our care, we have been informed by many facts, complaints, and reports of the following circumstances. The religious order of the Jesuits belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, had been abolished by a bull of the Pope. In consequence of this measure the Jesuits were expelled, not only from the states belonging to the church, but also out of all other countries. They were nowhere allowed to remain. Russia alone, always guided by feelings of humanity and toleration, preserved them, gave them an asylum, and assured their tranquillity under her powerful protection. She interposed no obstacle to the free exercise of their worship. She did not harass them either by force, by persecutions, or by seduction. But in return; she thought that on their part she had a right to expect fidelity, devotion, and usefulness. In this hope they were permitted to devote themselves to the education and instruction of youth. Fathers and mothers fearlessly confided their children to their care, to be instructed in science, and for the formation of their morals. Now it has been proved to us that they have not fulfilled the duties imposed upon them by gratitude, and the humility which is commanded by the Christian religion; and instead of remaining peaceable inhabitants in a foreign country, they have endeavoured to disturb the Greek religion, which, since the most distant ages, has been the established religion in our empire, and on which,

as on an unshaken rock, repose the happiness and tranquillity of the people under our sceptre. They first began by abusing the confidence they had gained; they drew away from their own churches the young who had been confided to them, and some women of weak and inconsiderate minds. To induce men to abjure their faith,—the faith of their forefathers, to extinguish in their hearts all love of those who profess the same faith, to render them strangers in their own country, to sow dissension and anger in the bosom of families, to detach the father from his son and the mother from her daughter, to occasion division among the children of the same church,—is this the voice of God? the will of His Divine Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour who shed his blood for us, the purest of all blood, that we might lead a life of peace and joy in all piety and holiness? After such conduct we can no longer feel surprise that this religious order should have been banished out of every country, and be nowhere tolerated. What would that state be, who allowed to nestle in its bosom those who spread within it hatred and discord? Ever occupied in watching over the well-being of our faithful subjects, and considering it a wise and sacred duty to destroy this evil at its root, in order that it may not ripen and produce bitter fruits, we have in consequence resolved and ordered:—First, that the Catholic church now in Russia shall be replaced on the same footing as it occupied during the reign of our grandmother of glorious memory, the Empress Catherine, and until the year 1800. Secondly, that all monks belonging to the order of Jesus shall be immediately sent out of St. Petersburg. Thirdly, that they shall be forbidden to enter either of our capital cities. We have given special orders to our ministers of police and of public instruction, for the prompt execution of this our determination, and for every thing concerning the house of the institution hitherto occupied by the Jesuits. At the same time, in order that there may not be any interruption of divine service, we have ordered the

metropolitan of the Roman Catholic Church to replace the Jesuits by priests of the same rite, who are now in St. Petersburg, until the arrival of monks of another Catholic order, whom we have summoned for the purpose.

"(Signed) ALEXANDER."

One would have said that the mission to preserve the Jesuits in Russia had been accomplished. The Czar no longer considered it as his duty to shelter these proscribed men, who had enjoyed so generous a hospitality under the rule of Catherine II. and Paul I. He in his turn now sent them away; but from a feeling of propriety and justice, of which a schismatic prince has set a good example to more than one Catholic sovereign, Alexander did not wish to rest his decree of banishment on any other than a religious motive. It was repugnant to his conscience to appeal to the passions or to calumny. He never endeavoured to injure by false accusations those priests whom he had hitherto honoured by his benevolence. He continued just, even in the severity of his ukase. The archbishop of Mohilow, who had contributed so much to the maintenance of the Society of Jesus at the time of its suppression under Clement XIV., executed exactly the orders intimated to him by Galitzin; he took measures to prevent the interruption of public worship by the withdrawal of the Jesuits; and during the night of the 20th and 21st of December, the general of the police made an irruption into their college at the head of an armed force. He took possession of all the outlets; then, without interrogating even one father, without even telling them the cause of this sudden invasion, they placed a guard over them, while the minister read to Brzozowski the decree of exile. The head of the Jesuits was an old man, but he knew the value of such ignominy; he accepted it with joy, and contented himself by answering, "His Majesty shall be obeyed." The following night the fathers were taking the road to Polotsk. Seals had

Note 12, p. xxv.

been placed upon their correspondence as well as upon their manuscripts; their moveables, their library, their museum, and their cabinet of physic, were confiscated.

On the 20th of February, 1816, Father Thadeus Brzozowski wrote to Father Gloriviere at Paris:—"Your letter of the 8th of January has reached me at Polotsk, where I have been for the last six weeks. Our position in this country is very much altered since I last wrote to you. The public papers, no doubt, have not left you ignorant of our expulsion from St. Petersburg. It occurred on the 3rd of January, in the space of twenty-four hours. That makes us suppose that we are considered to have been very culpable in the eyes of the government. The two great faults expressly named in the decree of our expulsion are:—1st, To have drawn into the Catholic religion the pupils confided to our care. 2nd, The having equally drawn into the Catholic religion, some women of weak and inconsiderate minds. In regard to the second point, there may have existed some imprudence done without my knowledge, and against my wishes, which according to all ordinary rule could only have compromised the man who did it. As for the first complaint, it is entirely supposititious, and people have represented facts to his Majesty as they were not. Not only have our fathers never attempted to draw our pupils towards the Catholic religion, but even when pupils have shewn a desire to become Catholics, which must have happened occasionally in the space of thirteen years, in a mixed school where all the masters were Catholics, our fathers have always refused to allow them to participate in the sacraments. This is the truth; but the truth is seldom known; for such is the condition of the very best princes, that they have far more difficulty in knowing it than other men. This event is very sad and provoking to the company. But we were not much astonished at it; for a long time we had seen the tempest gathering, and we knew it must burst over us a little sooner or a little later."

Note 13, p. xxv.

In Russia the government is never blamed; it is scarcely allowable to approve in writing of any act of authority; it never allows discussions on any of its measures; the government is arbitrary. Silence reigns there; and in the end, perhaps, there are not more victims to be registered there, than in kingdoms where liberty of speech rests upon a constitution, of which the most powerful or the most astute interpret every article as they please; notwithstanding this, the numbers of the 3rd and 15th of March, 1816, of the *Invalide Russe*, contain, by an unheard-of exception, attacks against the Jesuits.

The general of the institution desired Father Rozaven to avenge his brothers for the insults with which this paper did not fear to overwhelm the exiles. Father Rozaven defended his order with a logic of facts more eloquent than any disquisition; it was clear and sensible; clever and profound. His answer was sent to the Minister of Religion, that he might obtain its insertion in the *Invalide*. It was too conclusive, and Galitzin condemned it to silence. A quarrel was now begun between the government and the company. The company were not unaware that this ukase of the 20th of December, 1815, was only the prelude of another more decisive. But strong in its innocence, it would not allow the ministerial proscription the right of calumniating it. In this conflict which arose between the civil power and the Society of Jesus, there reigned, beyond official usage, a certain equality which is not generally met with, in the connection of persons persecuted and their persecutors. It was seen that the Jesuits never despaired of obtaining justice from Alexander, and in all they wrote they appeared rather to dictate the law, than to submit to it. There is something mysterious in the connection between the Czar and the children of St. Ignatius, which was not revealed even to his favourite minister. Both parties allowed their vengeance a certain limit; but it might be said that they were not permitted to pass it, and that they

intuitively respected it. This extraordinary concurrence of circumstances betrayed itself at every phase of their exile. The innovating opinions of Alexander had been unveiled. He knew the Jesuits to be an eternal obstacle to them; however, he did not at once come to the resolution of driving them out of his empire. He treated the exiles with benevolence. The winter was a severe one; the journey long and painful; the Autocrat ordered that the Jesuits should be wrapped up in pelisses and furs. To warm their limbs stiffened by the cold, he ordered arrack to be given to them; he mitigated his blows, when all around him excited him to be pitiless. He ordered seals to be placed upon their archives, and they discovered no trace of a conspiracy, no vestige of conversions, no paper having any allusion, near or remote, to politics.

This mystery ought to be explained, and we will do so as clearly as the interests of history require. The family of Romanoff owed a great deal to the company of Jesus. Some fathers had been, against their will, honoured by the confidence of Catherine II. They knew all the family details during the reign of Paul I., which it is as well to bury in oblivion. Father Gruber, and other heads of the order, had known from this Sovereign the last word of many diplomatic transactions; they had been initiated either by word of mouth, or by correspondence, into all the griefs of the life of the Hereditary Grand Duke, into the sufferings of his life as Emperor. The Jesuits had been made the depositories of all the family secrets, and they had rendered services to him, which kings themselves are not sufficiently ungrateful to forget. This reciprocity of good offices had established a bond of union, of which neither of the interested parties dared to break the prestige. There was, so to say, a mutual agreement on both sides; confidence had engendered discretion, and this singular contract has not even been annulled by intolerance. The Jesuits allowed themselves to be exiled by

the son of Paul I., and they took the road of exile without evoking a vengeance which it would have been so easy for them to obtain. They shewed themselves worthy of the esteem of the Czar at the very hour when his ministers were endeavouring to make them odious in the eyes of the country.

Prince Galitzin and the Russian police were in possession of all the papers belonging to the order. They could, therefore, have put themselves on the track of any conspiracy, which they believed it to be useful to allow the Jesuits to be suspected of. The most minute investigations could discover no traces of it. Alexander himself knew beforehand what would be the issue. He did not even deign to shew any excitement in public. Thus, when Father Brzozowski asked that Count Litta, or any Russian gentlemen nominated by him, might be present at the examination of the archives of the company, this proposition, which contained nothing but what was most natural, was rejected without examination. From family traditions Alexander knew the sagacity of the Jesuits; he would neither prepare a triumph for them, or give himself one, too decided over them.

The temporal interests of the Catholic church at St. Petersburg, were complicated with those of the Jesuits; the fathers having become guarantees to the lessees of the funds *(bailleurs de fonds)*. This debt had existed from its establishment in 1806, and was recognized as a debt of the church. However, by an ukase, dated 25th of May, 1816, Alexander declares, "That all pecuniary claims which might be made upon the fathers of the institution, should be placed upon their funded property (*biens-fonds*), without any power of charging those claims upon the newly constructed building near the Catholic church."

The Jesuits would not allow themselves to be alarmed by these local vexations, which one word would suffice to arrest. This word put their habitual discretion to a

trial; they had rather suffer than pronounce it. On the 31st of August, 1816, Father Brzozowski wrote to the Emperor:—

"During the time that the affair about the nephew of the Minister of Religion became public, I wished to send a petition to your Majesty exposing the facts, but the ministers rejected it; and while sending to your Majesty their accusations against my order, they deprived me of every means of making my defence. Being unable to induce them to accept my justification of what had already occurred, I took precautions for the future, by declaring, that in order to remove every cause of suspicion, I would not henceforward receive into our colleges any pupils, excepting those professing the Catholic religion. I placed my declaration in the hands of the Minister of Public Instruction and of Religion; and since the month of January, 1815, no pupil of the Greek religion has been received into the institution, notwithstanding the earnest applications of a great number of parents. Here, Sire, are facts which prove how earnestly I wish to put aside everything which could cause any suspicion on the part of the government, and I entreat your Majesty to listen to me for one moment. If my order had been such as it has been described to your Imperial Majesty, they would have found some proofs of it in my papers. They have now been under examination for eight months, and so far from having found anything in them which could have offended the government, they have been obliged to acknowledge to your Majesty, that in my most secret correspondence, whenever on any occasion I have spoken either of your sacred person, or of your government, I have always done so with those feelings of respect and veneration, which have always filled my heart. I do not ask, Sire, that your Majesty should revoke anything that has been done; we submit ourselves with the most entire resignation, and without a murmur, to the decree pronounced by your Majesty, that

the order should be for ever excluded from the capitals of the empire, our sojourn there having proved so fatal to us.

"Our ambition confines itself to rendering ourselves useful in any places where your Majesty will deign to employ us. Your Majesty knows that we have not shewn less zeal, in devoting ourselves to the painful service of the Catholics of Siberia, than to those employments which were less obscure and more agreeable. Our devotion will always remain the same, and our most earnest aspirations are to prove to the whole universe, that the remembrance of the benefits your Majesty has conferred on us, is engraven on our hearts in ineffaceable characters.

"But we also wish to ascertain whether our efforts will be agreeable to your Majesty, and whether we are not considered as ungrateful and unworthy of your Majesty's kindness; and I dare to ask for a proof of it, by imploring your Majesty to grant a favour, which I have vainly solicited from the ministers for more than eighteen months. It is permission to undertake, with two fathers of my order, a journey to Rome. My obligation to the sovereign Pontiff, and the necessary business of my order, have long called for my presence there, and I shall be truly happy to make known to foreign nations all that my order owes to your Majesty, and the gratitude with which I am penetrated."

This journey to Rome, the last thought and the day-dream of the old Brzozowski, deranged the hopes of the Emperor on religious subjects. This prince was in the first ardour of the Holy Alliance, that is to say, he sought by this act of federation, to reunite all species of worship into one of which he dreamt, and which would realize a universal toleration. Brzozowski exiled from St. Petersburg and Moscow, was a prisoner in Russia. Alexander occupied himself with a feverish anxiety, in this religious and constitutional emancipation of the whole world, and he obliged the general of the Jesuits to

Note 14, p. xxvi.

die in his states, when the affairs of Catholicism, and those of his institution, called him to Rome.

In the midst of White Russia, Brzozowski continued to govern the children of St. Ignatius. He directed their efforts, assisted in their first combats, he opened their transatlantic missions. On the 5th of February, 1820, he expired, having designated as vicar the Father Mariano Petrucci, rector of the noviciate at Genoa. His death, long foreseen, put an end to an anomaly which, from their deference to power, the Jesuits had always respected.

It was not possible that the general of a company spread all over every part of the globe, and taking as its source the catholic principle, could exist anywhere but in the very centre of Christendom. Its professors acknowledged to themselves, that the sojourn of the general at Polotsk or at Witebsk was an obstacle to the labours of their order, and the diffusion of the Gospel; they submitted notwithstanding without a murmur. In the person of Brzozowski they honoured all those fathers who had never doubted the re-establishment of the company, and who had obliged themselves to maintain it in its integrity. Death had now removed this power; the Jesuits thought that the successor of Loyola, of Laynés and Aquaviva, would be more at ease near the pontifical chair than under the sceptre of the Romanoffs. The day after the death of Brzozowski the chief establishment of the Jesuits transformed itself into a simple province, of which Father Stanislas Szvietokowski had the direction. The new provincial presented a petition to the Czar; this petition was to obtain permission to send deputies to the congregation about to assemble in Rome. All the provinces had a right to vote in it by their proxies; but this election unsettled the terms of the existence of the Society of Jesus in Russia, in the way in which Catherine II. had dreamt of establishing it. It deprived the Imperial Government of the moral authority which it might exercise over an institution which, from 1786 to 1816, had arisen

Note 15, p. xxvii.

from the number of 178 members, so rapidly to the number of 674.* The Jesuits had spread themselves like a net from Polotsk to Odessa; they were to be found at Witebsk and at Astracan, at Ormsk and even at Irkoutsk; they possessed flourishing colleges and missions, in which they had the art of rendering themselves indispensable. Several great families had invited them as preceptors. It was necessary to close Russia to them, or circumscribe their zealous activity within the boundary of its frontiers.

By means of their organ, Father Szvietokowski, they asked to change the nature of the contract which attached them to the empire. Galitzin, always hostile to the children of St. Ignatius, advised the Czar to seize the opportunity which was now offered him. On the 13th of March, 1820, a decree of expulsion was the response to their petition. This decree was preceded by a report from the Minister of Religion. The Prince Galitzin had shewn himself too prejudiced an adversary of the company of Jesus, for his assertions to gain credit before the tribunal of history. We admit them, however, as one of those official documents which never prove what they pretend to demonstrate. We read in this one:—

"The sending the Jesuits of St. Petersburg away, has not produced any alteration in their conduct; the reports of the civil and military authorities agree in proving, that they continue to act in a sense contrary to law; they endeavour to draw into their creed pupils belonging to the Greek rite, who are now in the college at Mohilow; and when, in order to take from them every means of proselytism, it was commanded to them that henceforward none but Roman Catholics were to be allowed to study there, they began to seduce the military who professed the Greek ritual in cantonments at Witebsk, to pervert them from the faith of their forefathers. In Siberia, in the same manner, their conduct did not answer the end for which they had been placed there; under the

* Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Societatis Jesu in Imperio Russiaco in 1816.

pretence of attending to the fulfilment of their sacerdotal duties, they frequented places which were not inhabited by any Roman Catholics; they blinded the lower classes, and made them change their religion. The same principles directed their conduct in the government of Saratow. Papal bulls and the laws of the empire forbad them from engaging the united Greeks to enter into the Roman Catholic worship; notwithstanding which, the general of the Jesuits opposed these regulations by another bull, which permits the united Greeks, in default of priests of their own rite, to present themselves at the communion before the Roman Catholic priests. But the Jesuits even overstep the injunctions of this bull; they spread their seductions even in places, in which there is no want of priests professing the rite of the united Greeks. In 1815, I recalled to the remembrance of the father-general of the Jesuits, the contents of the following imperial decree, given on the 4th of July, 1803: 'The toleration which induces the government to abstain from all influence over the consciences of men in matters of religion, ought to serve as a rule to the Catholic authorities in their relations with the united Greeks, and forbid them any species of attempt to draw these sects from their worship. If the dominant religion does not permit itself to make use of any coercive measures, how much more a tolerated religion should abstain from making use of any!'

"In the colonies also, the Jesuits have, by seducing individuals belonging to the evangelical profession, spread into families the germs of trouble and disunion. In 1801, the Jesuits resorted even to violence to convert the Jews,—conduct incompatible according to the words of the imperial decree of the 12th of August, 1801, as well with the general principles of the Christian religion, which allows of no coercion, as with the positive laws of the empire, which punish with severity every species of seduction. People have been obliged to apply to the local authorities, to drag from out of the houses of

the Jesuits the children of the Jews." "But if some of their deeds were at that time repressed, the same principles still exist; the Jesuits continue to conform their conduct to them, notwithstanding all the contrary orders of the Government. Even the use which they make of their property, is not in harmony with the precepts of Christian charity. The state of the peasantry who inhabit lands belonging to the Jesuits in White Russia proves how very little this society troubles itself with their welfare." "Your Majesty has himself met some of these miserable people, deprived by diseases of all other means of existence, provided with passports* to beg their bread. Touched by their extreme wretchedness, you have ordered me, Sire, to write to the father-general of the Jesuits how much it was contrary to Christian principles to abandon to the pity of the public these human beings, so poor and weak, and above all, when the Jesuits were well provided with the means for their relief." "Such are the true facts relative to the Jesuits in Russia. A powerful state granted them an honourable refuge at the moment when they were persecuted and dispersed in every other state. Enjoying the benefit, but insusceptible of gratitude, they outraged the very laws which received them under their protection, opposing to their salutary influence an obstinate disobedience, and, usurping the title of missionaries, refused

* In this passage of the official report, we see the minister is endeavouring to interest the sensibilities of the Emperor, by representing the fathers of the company of Jesus as hard cruel masters, who took no care of the poor. The estates belonging to the Jesuits had been the theatre of war in 1812; they were devastated both by armed enemies and friendly troops; there was accordingly more misery to be found there than elsewhere. The poorest or the most vagabond of the population were permitted to wander even to the gates of St. Petersburg. But it was not the Jesuits who gave them those passports, or authorized them to beg. The Jesuits could not put themselves in the place of the Government, and if this poverty were caused by the Emperor himself, he ought to have blamed the police officers belonging to Government, not the Jesuits, whose sole duty was, to assist them as poor when living on their domains.

by the regulation of 1769, to the Roman Catholic clergy throughout Russia, acted in the midst of an eminently Christian population as if among savage hordes, ignorant even of the existence of God." "And when exposed to the general suspicion and well-merited disgust of Europe, the Jesuits were generously received into Russia. When she lavished on them the most manifest tokens of confidence and esteem, confiding to them the sacred duty of bringing up a part of her children their co-religionists, and of infusing the light of science into their minds, and that of religion into their hearts; it was even at that moment, making use of the benefit against their benefactor, they abused the inexperience of youth in order to seduce it, profiting by the toleration exercised towards themselves to teach cruel intolerance to victims of their treason. They undermined the foundation of the state attachment to the religion of the country, destroying the happiness of families by carrying into them the spirit of discord. All the actions of the Jesuits had but one single motive—interest. Everything they did was directed towards the unlimited increase of their own power: expert in finding excuses for each separate illegal proceeding by some rule of their company, they made for themselves a conscience as large as it was ductile."

According to the testimony of the Pope, Clement XIV., "the Jesuits ever since their establishment had given themselves up to base intrigues, had been engaged in continual quarrels in Europe, Asia, and America, not only among themselves, but with other monastic orders, as well as with the secular clergy, and in all establishments for public instruction; they acted even against governments. People complained that their doctrine was contrary to good morals and the true spirit of Christianity; they accused them especially of being too greedy of this world's goods. All the measures taken by the Popes to put an end to this scandal had been found inefficacious; the general discontent respecting them continued to encrease. Complaint after complaint succeeded each other.

Every mind was revolted, and even the bonds of Christianity were relaxed. Some of the Catholic kings, seeing no other means of preventing the storm from bursting over their church and destroying it, felt it to be their duty to banish the Jesuits from their states."

Thus the Pope expressed his opinions when his penetrating mind had discovered that the true cause of so much suffering was occasioned by the fundamental principles of the company of Jesuits. And he in consequence decided to dissolve the company, in order to restore order and peace to the Church.

"When the Jesuits were sent out of St. Petersburg, the question of their being sent entirely out of the states of Russia had arisen; but your Imperial Majesty had declined this measure, because, before it could be carried into effect, it was necessary to find ecclesiastics acquainted with foreign languages, in order to replace the Jesuits in the Colonies as well as in other places." "Now it is apparent from the enquiries made by myself, that the other monastic orders of the Roman Catholic faith, can furnish a sufficient number of priests, who are capable of fulfilling the functions of their priesthood in the colonies, while, on the other hand, the Jesuits have shewn themselves to be more than ever culpable. I therefore dare to suggest to your imperial Majesty to make the following decree.

"The Jesuits having by their misconduct placed themselves beyond the protection of the laws of the empire, and having forgotten not only the sacred duties of gratitude, but also those imposed upon them by their oath of allegiance, shall be sent beyond the frontiers of the empire, under the supervision of the police, and that they shall never be permitted to return under any form or denomination whatsoever."

Ten other articles, regulating, explaining, corroborating this decree of banishment, were attached to the details of the decree to render this banishment still more severe, which

was based upon no certain fact. Then the Minister of Religion concludes thus: "In case that your imperial Majesty should accept of these suggestions, I take the liberty of requesting that your imperial Majesty will command the ministers of the interior, of finance, and myself, each in his separate department, to proceed to the immediate execution of the above-mentioned articles; and thus a final termination will be put to the existence in Russia of these Jesuits, who will not obey either the laws or the authorities of the State, to whom they ought, according to the words of St. Paul, to be obedient not only from the fear of punishment, but from the dictates of conscience."

Thus will be sent out of Russia those men destitute of that true light which comes from above, deaf to the voice of St. James, with whose holy words the bull of Pope Clement XIV. terminates, by which he suppressed the company of Jesus, "If there is any one among you who is considered wise and learned, let him shew it by his works in the course of a good life full of gentleness and wisdom. But if you have in your hearts jealousy, full of bitterness and the spirit of contention, do not falsely glorify yourselves with being wise, and boast not against the truth; this is not the wisdom that cometh from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that comes from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, just, teachable, full of mercy, and the fruits of good works. It judgeth not, it is neither false or full of dissimulation, and the fruits of righteousness are sown in peace by those who do the works of peace."

Here then is another act of banishment enacted against the disciples of the institution. Russia drives them from her bosom, as France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, and the duchy of Parma did in the eighteenth century. A grandson of the great Catherine applies to the Jesuits preserved from death by his grandmother, the words thrown at them by Clement

XIV., when he disbanded the chosen corps of the Christian army. By one of these anomalies to which the history of the company has obliged us to become accustomed, all monarchs who allow themselves to be drawn into an arbitrary course, all ministers who sign decrees of proscription, all nations who see these exiles passing on their way, never think of asking of themselves—of what crime are they accused? There exists a law which serves as the basis of every criminal code, and which is the foundation of all justice; this law, as old as the world, forbids the punishment of any man before he has been brought to judgment, and the proofs shewn of the truth of the imputations brought against him. The Jesuits have never been permitted to partake of the benefits of this law; at Lisbon, the Marquis de Plombal condemned them upon his own authority; in Spain, Charles III. and Aranda, his minister, suppressed them; the Parliament of France, under the orders of Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour, made decrees as iniquitous as they were ignorant; at Rome, in an hour of pontifical blindness *(cecité pontificale)*, Clement XIV. destroyed the society, of which the greatest and most saintly of his predecessors in the chair of Peter had glorified the services and honoured the virtues. In the midst of nations of different manners, but who all hold natural legislation as the guarantee of their rights, the company of Jesus has frequently encountered accusers, and proscribers, and even executioners. It still appeals to honest magistrates. It has been condemned, branded, banished, and decimated; but it has never been brought before the tribunal of justice *(jamais été jugée)*.

Note 16, p. xxix.

The report of Prince Galitzin, the joint composition of the Councillor Tourqueneff and of the Count Capo D'Istria, did not bear the impression of that intense hatred which only belongs to men who profess the same faith; it does not accuse the Jesuits of imaginary crimes; it does not misrepresent their correspondence; they appear to seek for the most

plausible pretexts for sacrificing them to the triumph of the Bible Societies and Alexander's dreams of universal federation. But still this official document does not overpass the bounds of a well-considered moderation. The government was in possession of the papers belonging to the company, its correspondence with Rome and with the Jesuits of all other countries. It was said and believed at St. Petersburg that the Russians who embraced the Catholic faith received, through the intervention of the Jesuits, a brief from the holy see which granted them the power of appearing to be schismatics when at heart they were really united to the Roman Church; some even pretended that the Muscovite government had in its hands proofs of this hypocrisy; the report never even mentions it, and no trace of it has been discovered in the imperial archives; everything tends to prove, that if the Bible Societies and the newly made Christianity of Alexander had at that time in its possession such an arm against Rome, they would not have failed to make use of it.

We have now before our eyes copies of those briefs which are asserted to be authentic and taken from the originals; but as an historian ought to be guarded and distrustful of falsifications as well as of apocryphal documents suggested by party spirit, as on the other side the holy see and the Jesuits have always denied similar documents as being false, we can never believe these to be true until we have more decisive proof.

From this report, accepted by the Emperor, there did appear to have been some excess in the zeal of the Catholics. But these individual facts, even supposing them proved to be true, could they deserve that such severe punishment should be inflicted upon the whole order? The authorities could only discover that they had existed for a very few years. Can we believe that the Jesuits would have sought to compromise themselves precisely at the moment when they knew that they were the object of distrust to Galitzin, the intrigues of

the Bible Societies, and of those universities over whom the Emperor had just sanctioned their triumph.

When this ukase became known, which broke the bonds which had existed for more than two centuries between the Catholics of White Russia and the company of Jesus, the consternation was universal; tears flowed in all the churches; every one hastened to the midst of the steppes to see for the last time those who had so often brought consolation to the Catholics. In every town where there was a house belonging to the order, commissions were named by the government; they were composed of a magistral, a secular ecclesiastic, and a monk. These commissions were ordered to interrogate individually every Jesuit, and to promise him unheard-of advantages and the favour of the government, if he would renounce the institution; three or four old fathers out of nearly seven hundred allowed themselves to be seduced.

To form even an imperfect idea of the life to which they had devoted themselves, you must not study it in the midst of cities, or among children who blessed their name, and shewed, by a gratitude of which the proofs are still in existence, the beneficial effects of Christian instruction or of primary education.

It was not there that they appeared so great by the sacrifice of all human happiness, as by their labour. But you must look at the missions which government gave them to fulfil.

On the 5th of April, 1805, Father Fidele Grivel wrote from the banks of the Volga to a friend in France. "It is now twenty months since the company has had the management of these missions; and a great change may already be perceived in them. There are now a hundred thousand Catholics scattered through the government of Saratof; they are divided into ten missions, of which six are on the left bank, and four on the right bank of the Volga. Each mission is composed of two, three, or even four or five villages or colonies. My mission is at Krasnopolis, on the left bank. I

have nine hundred and sixty-two communicants in four colonies. Each has a tolerably pretty church made of wood: this is not like either Japan or the country of the Hurons, neither is it a Paraguay. It is as to manners a diminutive Germany; and up to this time there is no appearance of our being likely to die the death of martyrs. I am perfectly satisfied, and would willingly remain here for the rest of my life." The Jesuits had not in Russia the attraction of danger to excite them, or the enthusiasm which the resistance of a savage population awakens:* their zeal was placed under military control, and could only appear as it was allowed; it was circumscribed within narrow limits, and to overstep which would have been an unpardonable crime. They were obliged to be moderate, in their ambition to civilize by the influence of religious faith.

They had to overcome the inveterate vices of those populations who had no country, the distrust of the Greeks; often, as at Riga, the susceptibilities of the Protestants refusing to Catholics a little of that space and that free air which they know so well how to obtain for themselves. The capital of Livonia was always a city intolerant from principle; in the name of Luther they endeavoured to oppress the religion of Rome. Every form of worship could erect its temple within the walls of that city. To Catholics alone was interdicted to enjoy a privilege which they had struggled to obtain† for three hundred years. Towards 1802, they ventured to address themselves to the Emperor Alexander, and to ask him for some Jesuits. Father Gruber received an order to send three into Livonia: he nominated Joseph Kamienski, Marcinkiewicz and Puell, who arrived there on the 10th of February, 1804. The Prince of Wurtemberg and the Muscovite magistrates welcomed these monks with eagerness. But they had

* In Ed. 1851, this sentence is, "Their zeal could only be exercised under the eye of military authority."

† In Ed. 1851, "which they had solicited."

soon no difficulty in perceiving the secret or avowed enmity which their ministrations were destined to encounter. The majority of the Catholics in Riga had allowed themselves to participate in the fevered debauchery which exhausts all large commercial communities. The three missionaries had become almost hopeless of success, when in 1806 Father Joseph Coince made himself their assistant. Scarcely had he acquired a knowledge of the moral position in which the inhabitants of Riga were languishing, than he exerted all his ability to remedy it. By one of those inexplicable corruptions of which we must not accuse any particular mode of worship, for none can be responsible for such monstrosities, the Lutheran catechism, which the father of every family was obliged to place in the hands of his children, was nothing more than a code of atheism and uncertain teaching.

Coince placed another catechism in opposition to that which was sanctioned by the authorities, and became very urgent to get it accepted by families; but still more eager to tear the young of both sexes from the precocious vices, the germ of which was within themselves. Coince understood the extent of the evil, and he counteracted it by publishing books of morality, adapted to the degenerate understanding of these people; he founded schools, and, in order to gain the confidence of parents, he placed noble ladies, both German and French, as teachers in them, under the direction of the Countess de Cosse-Brissac and the Baroness de Holk. They gave to these species of infant schools, or halls of safety, an extraordinary development. The benevolence of females assisted the charity of the Jesuit, and he soon overcame both prejudice and bad feeling.

Coince had rendered the rising generation of Riga chaste and pious; he wished to make them free. The iniquitous laws which had for three hundred years oppressed the Catholics, to whom the Protestants of Sweden had succeeded in denying the rights of citizens, for to those emancipators of

the human mind Catholics are no more than the Jews of the fourteenth century, to whom were refused the privilege of country, and even of the honour of dying under the national flag. The Jesuit undertook to destroy this abuse of power. Marquis de Pallucci was at that time Governor of Riga under the Czar; Father Coince communicated to him his schemes of rehabilitation. Pallucci adopted and promised to favour them; he assembled the chief men in Livonia; he submitted to their inspection the proposition which the Jesuit had suggested; a cry of complete rejection escaped from every tongue. The Jesuit was accused of sowing perturbation in the country, and of endeavouring to overthrow all laws, both ecclesiastical and civil; menace did not alarm Coince more than insult. The people dreamt of placing other obstacles in his path. An action was brought against him, but after six months of judicial debates, the Emperor published a decree which guaranteed to the Catholics the liberty of believing and praying publicly.

Note 17, p. xxx.

Up to that time, they had not had even the melancholy privilege of obtaining for their poor or sick, admission into the public hospitals. Coince had triumphed over Protestantism; he now conceived the idea of offering to the suffering an asylum of which he alone should be the consoler. Every means required were wanting; nevertheless, this man knew how to hope against hope, and without any other lever than his zeal to bring about this enterprize which he so ardently desired to see effected. An hospital was considered by him to be quite indispensable, and he interested the Marquis Pallucci in the scheme. The Jesuit spoke, and he caused others to speak; he filled every heart with enthusiasm; he awoke in every heart sentiments of pity; and on the 16th of July, 1814, the first stone of the building was laid. On the 15th of August, 1815, this home for the indigent was opened to receive every species of wretchedness.

But the storm directed by the Bible societies now began

to grumble over the heads of the company of Jesus. Father Coince was one of the great adversaries of their system: he first received the order to abandon his new country which his sweat had watered, and where by his powerful will he had worked such miracles of civilization; he must renounce these works so laboriously carried out, or abjure the institution of St. Ignatius. The Jesuits who were the companions of Coince, and Father Coince himself, did not hesitate for a moment; they came as proscribed men into Russia, and they left it as proscribed men. The Catholics gathered round them with prayers and tears.

Coince and Krukowski wept with the faithful; but the sacrifice was consummated. The Jesuits departed; the people testified their grief by the most touching effusions. The Governor of Riga did not fear to associate himself in their regrets. On the 13th of July, 1820, he addressed to the disciple of the institution the following letter, a touching *résumé* of the good works he had accomplished:—

"My very reverend Father, if I have not until the present time answered the letter with which you honoured me, on the 1st of April last, it was in the hope, which I have always cherished, that the period of your departure might be postponed. But since it is now decided, I hasten, my very reverend Father, to announce to you, that I have given all the necessary orders that you should be furnished, (as well as the other fathers going with you) with everything necessary for your journey. The sentiments which you express towards myself, my very reverend Father, in your letter, have occasioned deep sorrow, which I have often before felt, at not being able to contribute, as I should have wished, to all the good you have done, and that you would have done, here, which occasions me to feel deep and penetrating grief at the loss which not only the Catholic community must experience from your departure, but which extends throughout Riga. The schools you have established here for both sexes, the

hospital, and the society of secular ladies of mercy, each a monument sufficient to attest your zeal and indefatigable care of the town of Riga. If, besides all this, your conduct and that of your fathers had not given you the strongest claim to the sincere regret which your separation from us causes; persuaded that, sensible of the attachment manifested towards you here, you, my very reverend father, will feel some regret at leaving all the good you have effected; I believe that I shall soften it by the assurance that I will endeavour, as much as possible, to maintain in their present state, all those establishments for which this town is indebted to you. My sincere wishes for your welfare will follow you wherever you go, and if ever you should think that I can be in any way useful to you, use me as a friend most sincerely attached to yourself. "P. MARQUIS DE PALLUCCI." Note 18, p. xxxi.

The same devotion to the human race was shewn even in the most remote parts of Russia. It was there that the Jesuits preferred to live. It was there also that they watched like careful mothers over those miseries, both of body and soul, which no other persons ever appeared to consider. There exists at Mozdok, in the Caucasus, a colony formed of prisoners, the refuse of mankind. This colony, groping in ignorance, thought only of gratifying their vices and their hatreds. Force had failed to bring these rebellious natures into subjection. The Emperor Alexander wished the Jesuits to make a last attempt. There they suffered great vicissitudes and insults of every kind; but at last the problem was solved. In 1810, the inhabitants of the colony at Mozdok were conquered by the perseverance of the missionaries, and they laid down their arms. Before that time Father Woyzevillo had gone into the Caucasus to announce to that indigenous race that God died upon the cross. Invincible obstacles appeared to have conspired to render their labours sterile. But still the Fathers Suryn and Gilles Henry

triumphed by their marvellous patience and courage. They were the apostles of those semi-barbarous people. They became the protecting angels of the Russian troops cantoned in the midst of these regions, and daily exposed to the double scourge of war and pestilence.

Inexpressible privation and frightful sufferings were reserved for these Jesuits pitching their tent on these mountains. At the voice of their chief none had refused, and in all the intimacy of their private correspondence we see the way in which they accepted of their life of tribulation. Father Gilles Henry, a Belgian Jesuit, writes from Mozdoc on the 29th of June, 1814:—

"They have just published here an order to send away all the Poles; though I fully enter into their joy, I felt myself singularly afflicted at seeing the departure of these unfortunate men, whom we have regenerated and transformed into lambs from the bears we found them. Now my deprivations appear to me to have been agreeable, and I foresee with sorrow the moment when I can no longer deprive myself of my bread or my dinner to feed the starving, or my coat, my boots, or even my stockings, to cover their precious limbs, the well-beloved brothers of my Saviour. It appears to me that there will be something wanting, when I shall not have to return covered with vermin. If I have anything to regret, it is having been too distrustful of Providence; it is because I have not made sufficient sacrifices by depriving myself of sleep to alleviate their sufferings."

In another letter of the 13th of July, 1814, the same Jesuit writes:—

"People have been much alarmed at Astrakan; they feared the reverend Father Suryn had fallen into the hands of the pagans. For the last seven years I have suffered from the same fear on account of our superior; but would it be a misfortune if one of us should, in the exercise of his holy ministrations, be taken prisoner? So fortunate a captivity might

probably be the means of destroying the chains by which hell holds these mountaineers in captivity. Would it then be a real misfortune should one of us be devoted to the rage of these pagans? We desire to hoist the standard of the cross, and is not the blood of martyrs the seed of Christianity?"

On the 10th of August, of the same year, Father Henry no longer wished for martyrdom. He recounts the calamities to which his poor Christian and captive soldiers were exposed. There were clouds of locusts who devoured the crops and poisoned the air! There was the plague with all its horrors, and then, after the recital of all these afflictions, the Jesuit goes on to solicit pardon for his charities:—

"It now remains for me to entreat for pardon for the expense I have occasioned: but what could I do? what rule was I to follow when a sick man, dying of hunger, comes out of the hospital without a shirt? What would you have done if you had met the son of Count Potoski without stockings, shoes, trowsers, or even a shirt? Can I be blamed for having asked the first lady I met to give me her handkerchief, one Cossack for his boots, and another for his shirt? A thousand such cases were to be met with. Ever since Easter I have been without money, and I have spent monthly more than 300 roubles; thanks to a Divine Providence I have no debts. Nobody would have remained alive to carry the news of our destruction to Poland, if I had not entreated the general, who, though he had no troop there to replace them, has just sent an order by a courier that all the Poles should leave Mozdok, even the sick in carriages.

"What sad adieus I am about to receive! I have received more consoling ones from dying men, who at the moment of rendering their souls to God still turned their eyes towards me as if they would have said, 'Adieu, till we meet in heaven, beloved father.'"

Such were the kind of conspiracies of the Jesuits, and in which they were continually engaged. That which is told so

naturally by Father Henry is confirmed by the writings of all the others who were dispersed over the whole Russian empire; but still more by their actions. Day and night they were in all the wretchedness of pestilence and want of human assistance; they underwent all these miseries, and when the decree of their proscription reached them in these desolate places, Father Gilles Henry wrote his last letter to Father Grivel; and it is as follows:—

"For sixteen years we have been at Mozdok at the foot of Mount Caucasus; we have vainly endeavoured to penetrate into the interior of the country occupied by barbarous men, pagans or Mahomedans, who consider the murder of a Christian a good work. However, our labours have not been useless as to the colonists in the country, and above all among the troops, who pass unceasingly through this country from the Caspian to the Black Sea, from Mozdok into Georgia. Since the invasion of Russia by the French, we have never had a moment's peace; the Russian government has sent here twelve thousand Polish prisoners without either faith or morals; but exile and sickness having attacked them, we profited by it to bring them to better feelings, and God has blessed our works." "At Mozdok we have two hundred Catholics, faithful Armenians, and as many foreigners pass through this place going or returning from Russia into Georgia or China, as there was neither a house of refuge or a hotel, we built a large house, where all travellers, be they whom they may, are admitted, and gratis as far as our funds will allow; we have had the opportunity of receiving several Englishmen, and we have built a large church. After having laboured so successfully for the good of the State, they now wish to send us away, as well as all other Jesuits; but not content with driving us away, they wish to dishonour us by inducing us to become apostates. They have made us great promises and, have also threatened us, but we have answered that, God willing, we will live and die in the company of Jesus."

They were driving them out of the Caucasus at the moment when Asia was ready to admit them. The Armenians delivered from the yoke of the Persians, and having fallen under the subjection of Russia, evinced great repugnance to embracing the Greek schism, and they called upon the missionaries to confirm them in their faith. Persia preferred the same prayer, and asked to have sent there those members of the society of whom the Emperor Napoleon had once allowed them a glimpse.

When General Gardune concluded, in the month of January, 1808, the alliance with Persia, Napoleon, who wanted to be received in Asia as the direct heir of the kings his predecessors, had inserted in the treaty a really extraordinary clause. He exacted protection for the Jesuits whom France was to be allowed the right of sending into Persia, and that at the moment when they were banished from his empire, and when the Pope had not restored them into existence.* But the name of Jesuit resounded far and wide,

Note 19, p. xxxiii.

* The treaty concluded between France and Persia contains in Article XV. the following clauses:—"The priests who are in Persia, to instruct and direct the Christians, shall be honoured by the kindness of his Highness, on condition that they shall not interfere in anything concerning the Mussulman faith, and that they do not permit themselves to do anything contrary to that religion. Priests, friars, or monks, following the law of Jesus, who inhabit Persia, fulfilling the functions of their worship, shall be under the shadow of the Imperial protection; shall be vexed or tormented by no one, and they themselves are never to overpass their path of duty; and they are never to do anything that can injure and contravene the Mussulman belief. Should any Mussulman, Armenian, or European, conduct themselves with irreverence towards priests, the judge of the locality shall, after a verification of the facts, punish and bring them back to their duty, in such a manner as shall make them respectful for the future. The judge shall not object to Christians inhabiting the country of Waghestan, Tauriez, and Karabagh, Yrak, Daghistan, and other provinces of the empire, all shewing respect for these priests. Moreover, no person shall or may prevent the Armenians, or the children of Armenians, who shall be living near these priests, either for instruction, or that they may serve them. If the priests wish to build a church or chapel, no one shall prevent it, and ground for it shall be given to them in conformity with the enunciations contained in the second Article. (Recueil des

and carried with it a signification which made the orientals shew themselves happy to admit them. Napoleon, according to the testimony of Colonel Mazorewiez, the Russian ambassador at Teheran, took good care not to allow this means of influence to escape him.

They had calumniated the disciples of Loyola. Passing their lives in the midst of the snows of Siberia, and the mountains of the Caucasus, amidst the wretched misery of the indigenous population and the exiles who were pining away. When the government found that the determination of these fathers was steadfast as that of their companions, Galitzin, who felt the necessity of keeping them, made them a last proposition, that they should have the liberty of remaining faithful to their vows, that they would accept them as Jesuits, and they would be only required to give up their dress and their name. The missionaries still more attached to their institution than to the Calvary on which they had voluntarily placed themselves, a Calvary sure never to fail them elsewhere, refused this compromise. These negociations lasted for more than a year, and when the Jesuits left their places, where they had softened so many miseries, the Governors-General overwhelmed them with testimonies of their esteem. In the Crimea, as well as on the banks of the Volga, the separation was equally cruel; the Marquis Pallucci had much deplored their retreat; General del Pozzo, who commanded in Astrakan, actually died of grief, and the Christians in the Caucasus endeavoured to disobey the Emperor's command; Germany and Poland was ransacked to find ecclesiastics to replace the Jesuits who had evangelized these mountainous regions; none presented themselves.

Traités de commerce et de navigation entre la France et les Puissances Etrangères enter elle, par le Comte d'Hauterive).

In the edition of 1851 the following is added after this note:—"Father Gilles Henry, in a letter dated March 29, 1829, writes to Father Brzozowski that Colonel Mazorewiez had assured him that you find in the treaty, *Galliam habituram jus mittendi Jesuitas in Persidem.*"

The Bible associations triumphed in Russia over the ruin of the Jesuits. But their triumph was not of long duration; under the reign of Alexander they were enormously developed. But by degrees the Czar acknowledged that he had given himself a master. His unquiet mind, searching everywhere for truth as the necessary food for his meditations, now endeavoured to compress the spring he had given to these societies, the intention of which was no longer a secret to him. When on the verge of the grave he confessed, it is said, the divinity and pre-eminence of Catholicism.* He left to

* This return to Catholic unity is not confirmed by any official act, by any public testimony; the character of Alexander, his search for religious truth, and the sorrows of the last years of his life, without doubt contributed to make those rumours believed which up to the present time rest on no foundation, excepting the interview of the Czar with Prince Hohenlohe, whose name is so celebrated throughout Europe. In his *Lichthbieken und Ergebnissen*, the Prince gives this account of the interview:—"The Emperor Alexander arrived in Vienna in the month of September, 1822. This monarch, having professed a sincere friendship for the princely family of Schwarzenberg, testified to Prince Joseph, belonging to the illustrious family, his wish to make my acquaintance. The audience which his Imperial Majesty promised to allow me, was fixed for the 21st day of September, at half-past seven in the evening. This day will always remain one of the most remarkable in my life. I addressed His Imperial Majesty in French, and said, 'Sire, Divine Providence has placed your Majesty upon one of the highest pinnacles of terrestrial grandeur, therefore the Lord will require much from your Majesty, for the responsibility of kings is great in the eye of God. He has selected your Majesty as the instrument by which he has chosen to give repose and peace to the nations of Europe. On your part, your Majesty has answered to the intention of Providence by exalting the blessing of the cross, and raising by your august will religion, which had been overturned. I regard this day as the happiest of my life, because I have at this moment the happiness of declaring to your Majesty the profound respect with which I am penetrated: that the Lord may confirm you by his grace, and protect you by His holy angels, such will ever be my humble prayer from the present hour, which I shall ever address to heaven on behalf of your Majesty.'

"After these words there was a pause, during which the Emperor continued gazing upon me; then he threw himself upon his knees, and asked me to give him my priestly blessing. It would be difficult to explain by words my emotions at that instant: here, is all that my overflowing heart could utter: 'I suffer so great a monarch to humble himself in this manner before me, because I feel that the

his successor at the same time the legacy of the care of suppressing this Protestant combination. The Emperor Nicholas has shewn himself faithful to the last political views of Alexander, and the Bible Societies were compelled to submit to the fate which they had themselves prepared for the institution of Loyola.

While the Jesuits were used as the rallying cry of those heretics who were endeavouring to destroy the faith, the institute of Loyola was re-established by the sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII., and was devoted at Rome to great internal labours.* The Gésú and the noviciate of St. Andrews

respect your Majesty manifests towards me, is not addressed to me, but to Him whose servant I am, and who has delivered you by his most precious blood. Oh! great Prince, what a deliverance He has wrought for us all! May the Triune God shed upon your Majesty the dew of His celestial grace! May He be your shield against all your enemies, your strength in every combat! May His love fill your heart, and may the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ remain with you, now and for ever.' This was all I could say, because tears were falling from my eyes; His Majesty pressed me to his heart; afterwards, I, in the most indescribable agitation, in my turn pressed him to my palpitating heart. The conversation which now ensued fell upon many subjects, which I am not permitted to relate in this place; the Emperor, in confiding them to me, imposed silence upon me: I remained with His Majesty until a quarter before eleven o'clock. How my heart bled when I heard of his death two years afterwards. No! there never passes a day that I do not remember him in my prayers to the Almighty."

* Cardinal Pacca,* the friend and adviser of Pope Pius VII., was one of the princes of the Sacred College, who was said to exercise the greatest influence over the Pontiff in determining him to proclaim the resurrection of the Society of Jesus; a resurrection which Cardinal Golsalvi opposed on political grounds. In an unpublished manuscript, in which Pacca relates all the events of his second ministry, we find a passage which gives the glory of the initiative to Pius VII. Pacca thus expresses himself: "One of the first operations which the Pope wished to undertake, was that one so glorious to himself,—the re-establishment of the company of Jesus. In the conversations which I daily held with him during our exile at Fontainebleau, we frequently referred to the serious injury caused to the church and society by the suppression of this order, as justly celebrated for the education of youth, as for apostolic missions. I had reason to hope that the Pope would

* Autograph letter from Cardinal Pacca, omitted here in Ed. 1851, appears at the end.

were restored to them; they returned there full of joy and hope. The Popes had desired that the mother-house should be preserved in the exact state it was in, on the day of the arrest of Father Ricci. The library only had been sold by auction by order of Clement XIV. The church of the Gésù had been despoiled of the silver statue of St. Ignatius, and of many other precious things which had ornamented this temple.* But excepting this tribute paid to the French revolution, the house was unaltered. It became a community of priests, of which the learned Marchetti was the head, and was in fact almost exclusively composed of the old Jesuits; there they had lived and died, and were buried. Among these venerable men were Father Albirghini, Hervas, librarian to the Pope, François de Sylva, Lascaris, Ximenes and Velasco; these finished there a career far less illustrated by their scientific labours, than by their sacerdotal virtues: everything had been maintained by them in perfect regularity; they had nei-

not delay the day when he would think of resuscitating the Jesuits in Rome, as well as in all other countries, by following the example of the Emperor Paul of Russia and Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who had recalled them for their subjects. Arrived in Rome on the 24th of May, 1814, the conversations of Fontainebleau returned at once to my recollection; but following the views of human politics, I still thought this operation far from being ripe, because of events which I considered, perhaps, might render it imprudent and very difficult. We were scarcely out of the tempest, aroused by the philosophic sects who raged at even the name of Jesuit, and we were ignorant of what foreign courts might think of the recall of the institute of which, a few years previous, all the Catholic monarchs had demanded the suppression. Notwithstanding these reasons, at the end of June, about a month after our return to Rome, I determined to sound the Pope's mind upon this subject, and in an audience one day I said to him, 'Most holy Father, we ought to commence anew our conversations upon the order of Jesus,' and I added nothing else: but the Pope replied, 'We might re-establish the company at the next Fête of St. Ignatius:' this spontaneous and unexpected answer of Pius VII. filled me with surprise and consolation."

* It was the treaty of Tolentino which forced Pius VI. to these deplorable spoliations. Bonaparte had compelled him to pay to France twenty-five millions of francs; Rome was deeply in debt, and instead of laying upon the people the weight of the impost, caused by this most unjust conquest, the Pope preferred to deprive the churches of some of their artistic riches.

ther interrupted a ceremony or an instruction in their church. Muzarelli had there founded the exercises of the month of Mary, which all Christian dioceses have since adopted.

Note 20, p. xxxiii.

In his earnest solicitude for the accomplishment of his wishes, Pius VII. never disguised from himself, that the absence of the general from Rome must occasion inevitable delay, and that his detention in Russia must occasion difficulties to arise in the execution of the bull of re-establishment. Even at the time when the bull was published, on the 7th of August, 1814, he nominated Father Louis Panizzoni to replace Brzozowski in the pontifical states until the general himself could take other measures. On the 21st of December, Jean Perelli was nominated provincial of Rome and vicar-general. Proscribed in all quarters of the globe, the Jesuits had sheltered themselves around the chair of Peter, as an asylum always open to the unfortunate. There was not a town or village in the Romagna which had not received some Spanish, Portuguese, or Neapolitan Father; the missionaries of Paraguay, Chili, Peru, or Brazil, soon increased the number of these exiles. In the midst of their labours, which they imposed upon themselves for the salvation of souls, or for the literary glory of their country, they ever preserved the living image of their ancient company in their hearts, this collective Bellisarius of the church, which after having rescued Catholicism from the crushing grasp of Protestantism, was condemned by a Pope to inaction and death. When they heard that the society was about to be re-constituted, they hastened to Rome. The liberty they had enjoyed had only taught them better to appreciate the happiness of obedience.

A few months had scarcely passed since the 7th of August, 1814, and already the colleges of Terni, Ferrara, Orvieto, Viterbo, Galloro, Tivoli, Urbino, Fano, and Ferentino, were all occupied by Jesuits. By a decree dated the 15th of October, 1815, Ferdinand III., Duke of Modena, introduced them into his states. Italy, in which the wars of the Revo-

lution and the empire had overthrown the laws and changed the manners, had ever remained Catholic under its various masters; and now, desiring to consecrate the principles which her occupation by enemies had never succeeded in eradicating, she called for the return of the Jesuits. In order to respond to this unanimity of feeling, young men of the best families, and who gave the highest promise, presented themselves to enter the noviciate of St. Andrew's.

This house is spacious, but it could not contain all the postulants. In 1816, a second noviciate was founded at Reggio in Modena. The following year, a third was created at Genoa. They flocked into those new houses of the company to be admitted into the number of the professed;* but this eagerness, which could not be regulated in the first few years, occasioned abuses which it was necessary to remedy. Confusion reigned instead of order; good was effected without, but in the interior it was not so. The institute did not succeed in establishing itself on its old basis, or in regaining its ancient discipline; and it found itself threatened with dissolution at the very moment when its existence had been restored.

The noviciates guaranteed the certainty of a future, but they fulfilled no present need. It was necessary to complete the time of those studies and trials, in order to discern a real vocation from the first burst of enthusiasm, and to purify the alloy which had crept in. The old men to whom the unhoped-for happiness had restored their youth, as it were of an eagle, very soon sank beneath these labours, which their courage would not suffer them to consider as beyond their strength; in less than four years, nearly fifty of these veterans died, leaving to their successors, as a family tradition, the ancient usages and the spirit of the institute. Some of them, such as Andres, Iturriaga and Dora, left titles of learning destined long to survive them; and Father Louis Felice, a renown for

* In Ed. 1851, "of its children."

virtues that Rome still preserves with respect. These virtues had become popular, because Felice had always brought himself into contact with the people by means of the pious associations which he had founded and maintained by his sagacity. In 1819 the order of Jesus lost one of its members—he who had been a sovereign, and who is called in history Charles Emmanuel IV., King of Sardinia and Piedmont.

In the midst of the cruel trials which the end of the eighteenth century accumulated upon the heads of monarchs, Charles Emmanuel, born in 1751, had been reserved to be the recipient of two great blessings, very rare in the existence of princes. His education had been confided to the care of Cardinal Gerdil, and he was given as wife Clotilde of France: the calamities of Italy were at their height when, in 1796, Charles Emmanuel was called to the throne; resistance had become impossible; the new king going into exile hastened to salute at the Chartreuse of Florence the old Pontiff Pius VI., himself dragged into captivity. On the 7th of March, 1802, he lost that Clotilde, whose saintly virtues are the most beautiful ornaments in the crowns of France and Sardinia; on the 4th of June in the same year he renounced, in favour of his brother Victor Emmanuel, a diadem which had only encircled his brow during the destruction of the monarchy. Retired to Rome, he never again would hear but of heaven and holy things. Father Pignatille and the most illustrious monks of different institutes became his friends and companions. When the company of Jesus was recalled into existence, he testified his ardent wish to consecrate his last days to that society. His wishes were at length fulfilled, and on the 11th of January, 1815, he entered the noviciate of St. Andreas on the Quirinal; he assumed the habit of the society, and, as far as his infirmities permitted, followed exactly the rule. He prayed; he meditated; while other monarchs were rushing to the Congress in pursuit of their kingdoms, parcelled out by the revolution. Calm and happy in his cell, he allowed his last

days to pass away in the midst of the novices—who loved him as a father; and in whose future prospects he interested himself, like an old man who has seen the tempests growling with fury over his head. The new Jesuit lived but four years among these brethren whom he had chosen for himself. He expired on the 7th of October, 1819, and according to his own desire he was buried in the dress of the company.*

On the 6th of December, 1818, Louis Fortis succeeded Father Perelli in the charge of vicar-general: Perelli was overpowered with age, and in the position of affairs the necessity was more than ever apparent for preserving the sinews of discipline, as well as the unity of government. Father Sineo was elected provincial; but on the 5th of February, 1820, the death of Thadeus Brzozowski put an end to this exceptional position. He had nominated as vicar-general Father Mariano Petrucci; Petrucci hastened to Rome; he named four counsellors *(consulteurs)* of the holy Inquisition to supply the absence of the assistants, and he fixed the general congregation for the 4th of September. Difficulties of divers kinds arose on the application of the rules to be observed in the election of a new chief. Pius VII. consented on the 2nd of June to declare valid, by the plenitude of his power, those formalities which circumstances did not permit of being actually fulfilled. The provinces named their deputies to the congregation; some crossed the Alps, others were already in the pontifical city; all was now ready for the opening of the assembly, when on the 1st of August the Cardinal Annibal della Genga, the Pope's vicar, wrote in the name of the Pope Pius VII. that the Polish Jesuits formed a necessary portion

* The ministers of Victor Emmanuel, governed by the wisdom of the age, did not dare to appreciate this glorious Christian humility, and to recognize the Jesuit in the king Charles Emmanuel. Upon the mausoleum which they raised to the memory of this prince they inscribed all his sovereign titles, but purposely forgot that most dear to him, for he had voluntarily abdicated the throne to die in the habit of the company of Jesus.

of the society, and that no general congregation ought to be held without them. The space of a month and a half still remained to them. The fathers were not long in guessing that this note of Cardinal della Genga concealed a snare: Mariano Petrucci, without consulting the provincials or the electors, desired those who were on their way to Rome to suspend their journey; this step astonished and disquieted the Jesuits, and they requested the vicar-general to sound the intentions of the Pope. The vicar refused to yield to this wish. Rozaven then decided upon hastening the departure of the professed, whom the letter of Petrucci had stopped, and wrote to them not to attend to any counter-orders which they might receive. Accompanied by the fathers Sinéo and Monzon, he presented himself before Cardinal della Genga, who assured them that as soon as the Poles arrived the congregation should be opened.

In the beginning of September the fathers reached Rome; nothing was now opposed to the holding of the assembly. But on the 6th the Cardinal della Genga sent word that it was necessary to add other assistants to those already named, and that to arrange the difficulties concerning the congregation, commissioners would be named. The Cardinals della Genga and Galeffi were at their head. On the 14th three new letters from Della Genga arrived, one after another; the first conferred upon the vicar-general all the prerogatives belonging to the head of the order, and according to his wishes it associated others with him as assistants. The second declared, that to remedy the errors and irregularities, the Holy Father wished that Della Genga and Galeffi should preside over the elections; the third letter was a secret one, and so remained. The Jesuits, who knew the affection which the Pope felt for the society, knew that he wished to preserve its constitution unaltered; they never conceived the thought of accusing or suspecting him, but that some intrigue was on foot was evident. In the conduct and the conversation of Petrucci they

saw palpable proof of his participation in it; an extreme measure could alone save the company from a danger, the cause of which was still a mystery. Such a measure was adopted.

The assistants, the provincials, and the deputies, to the number of nineteen, addressed a petition to the Pope, Pius VII. Two fathers placed it in the hands of Cardinal Gonsalvi, the Secretary of State. Gonsalvi was more of a great diplomatist, a man of the world, than an ecclesiastic; he did not like the Jesuits, whom he regarded as a new political embarrassment in the midst of the varied complications of Europe. But he knew how to act justly: he disdained to second with his all-powerful authority a conspiracy which might involve the tiara in the disgrace of participating in an obscure cabal. He assured the two fathers that he would support that petition, and that from that moment they might consider the intrigue as overcome.

Without measuring the depth of this intrigue, of which the vicar-general was the agent, its great aim was to modify the constitutions in several of their essential points, and to cause the sovereign Pontiff to suffer the monument, which his own hands had restored again, to crumble to ruin either from weariness or disgust. Discord breaking out in the bosom of the company at the moment when it was proceeding to the election of a general, would bring Pius VII. to repentance, or at least it would prevent his supporting an order which could not preserve its unity even for the object of maintaining the semblance of strength. It was a clever calculation, and its authors hoped that their anticipations would be verified. Della Genga, whose piety had been overreached, had gone over to their side, and they were not ignorant that Gonsalvi, absorbed in the cares of external government, would not long keep up the defence of the company of Jesus; and that the friendship of the Cardinals Mattei, Pacca and Galetti, would avail little to support the cause of the institution against a scheme so skilfully organized. They must make the election

Note 21, p. xxxiv.

of a General a moral impossibility, in order that the Holy See might be compelled to decide upon abandoning its undertaking, and they laboured earnestly to carry out this project.

Gonsalvi had promised that the congregation should re-unite immediately. On the 3rd of October a Pontifical rescript to this effect was addressed to the society; the vicar-general still sought to postpone it, he reckoned on the support of Cardinal della Genga. Della Genga was encouraged by the master-spirits which guided the company, who professed their intention either to crush the society altogether, or make themselves its masters. Gonsalvi had easily penetrated their intention; Pius VII. ordered that the day of the opening of the assembly should be determined by a majority of votes; this majority was not long waited for, and it decided that the congregation should be re-united the following day. Petrucci was the President; but he had scarcely opened the session, when, to disembarrass himself of the presence of so clear-sighted an elector as Rozaven, he declared that the deputies of France, of England, and of Italy, were not invested with regular powers, and he ordered them to leave the hall; these professed obeyed at once. The difficulties raised by the vicar were examined by the others, and resolved by a plurality of voices; the deputies who had been expelled returned to exercise their rights, and the congregation declared itself by unanimous* consent (with the exception of Petrucci) legitimately convoked and re-united. This prompt firmness disconcerted their hostile schemes; Father Pietroboni, one of the abettors of the conspiracy, refused to intervene in the election, and forced Petrucci to enter a protest against the legitimacy of the assembly; he even compelled the latter to insinuate that he would have to appeal to an exterior court. The danger was imminent: by a solemn decree the congregation deposed the vicar-general, and the following day, the 11th of October, Pietroboni was

* After "unanimous vote" in Ed. 1851, p. 49, is omitted "all with the exception of Petrucci."

expelled. The Cardinal della Genga, who was his protector, espoused his quarrel, and endeavoured to inspire the sovereign Pontiff with his own exasperation against the Jesuits. Pius VII. refused to implicate the Holy See in intrigues of which Gonsalvi had exposed the nature and aim. He took no notice of it; and on the 18th the twentieth congregation was established on a definitely permanent basis. Among the number were the Fathers Fortis, Rozaven, Billy, Charles Plowden, André Galan, Sinéo, Swietockowski, Montesisto, Vulliet, Delfa, Raymond, Brzozowski, Korsac, Landés, Monzon,* Grivel, Grazzi, Ganuza; the same day Louis Fortis was nominated general of the society on the second scrutiny. Father Vincent Zauli, theologian of the sacred penitentiary,† Rozaven, Monzon and Brzozowski were elected assistants;‡ Monzon, admonitor to the new general; and Joseph Koziski, secretary of the company. When the power was regularly established, they constituted a tribunal to try such of the professed as had been ambitious of power, or who had endeavoured to carry discord into the bosom of the institution. On the 27th of October this tribunal condemned Petrucci and Pietroboni; they submitted themselves to the sentence pronounced against them; they acknowledged their fault, and the Jesuits were contented to receive this late repentance. But the two apparent heads of this conspiracy were not in reality the most culpable persons; there were in the bosom of the company some young men whose judgment had not been ripened by experience; restless spirits aspiring either to reform or to destroy whatever they took in hand, and who, but lately received into the institution, sought to make use of it to serve their own private ends; the congregation con-

* Ed. 1851, p. 50, omitted the name of "Monzon."

† Ed. 1851, p. 51, after "sacred penitentiary," it is altered to "Jean Rozaven, Augustin Monzon, and Reymond Brzozowski," etc.

‡ Altered, after assistants, to "Monzon admonitor to the general, and Joseph Kozichi secretary of the company," etc.

sidered them dangerous, rash as reformers, and undutiful as monks, making their profession a cloak for their culpable ambition: they expelled them. These measures were absolutely necessary for the peace of the order. When they had been taken, the congregation occupied itself in re-ordaining the decrees, a step which they felt to be of urgent necessity. By the sixth decree it confirms in all essentials the ancient constitutions, rules and formularies of the institute. By another, it strengthens, and again explains the vow of poverty, in order to prevent any abuses which might be occasioned by the re-union of so many fathers who had enjoyed entire liberty and the disposal of their private fortunes for so long a period.

Note 22, p. xxxvi. Opinions on the subject of education had altered entirely all over the world, and it was resolved to adapt the "ratio studiorum" to the requirements of modern society. St. Ignatius had foreseen these requirements, and had left to his disciples a faculty to provide for the occasion. A commission was formed, composed of those Jesuits who were the most skilled in the art of teaching; the result of their investigations and examinations was to be submitted to the general, who, aided by his assistants, was empowered to co-ordinate the proposed improvements. It appeared indispensable to establish immediately a certain degree of uniformity at least in each province. Education had everywhere fallen into the hands of innovators, whose hazardous doctrines might hereafter produce sad consequences. The Jesuits acknowledged that even among themselves there would be many interior battles to fight with respect to this fundamental question. It was decided that they should trace out, and submit to the general, some provisional rules which should be compulsory upon all the masters; thus terminated the first congregation of the revived institute.

CHAPTER II.

MEANWHILE the Russian Jesuits commenced their pilgrimage of exile. Numbered in their ranks were many men eminent for their wisdom and learning, and for the service they rendered, and were hereafter to render, to the Church. The Fathers Billy, Roothaan, Raymond, Brzozowski, Rozaven, Landés, Richardot, Balandret, Pierling, Galiez, the two nephews of the celebrated Poczobut, Coince, Lange, Zranichi, Asum, Dunin,* Orlowski, Koriski, Suryn, Kruski, Cytowiez, Brown, Lœffler, Stibel, Korsak, Guillemaint, Nisard, Kulak, Buezynski, Markyanowiez, and Parkowski, were at the head of this legion of exiles. Some of them proposed to go into Italy, others† bent their steps towards France, and some desired to go into Gallicia. These last solicited permission to cross the Austrian states. Baron de Hauer, Governor of the province, gave orders that they should be welcomed as martyrs for the sake of the faith. The inhabitants of the city of Tarnapole, who were occupied in the design of founding a college, requested Baron de Hauer to be allowed to extend to the institute the hospitality which he had so generously promised them. They desired that a certain number of these fathers would accept the mission of organizing the system of their projected establishment, as this would be a pledge of security to families. Hauer therefore applied for consent to

* In p. 52, Ed. 1851, after Dunin the name of Orlowski is omitted; after Kruski, Cytowiez is omitted; after Kulak, Buezynski is omitted; also Markyanowiez is omitted.

† After "others" is added in p. 52, "under the conduct of Father Szvietokowski, went towards Gallicia."

Louis Ankwicz, archbishop of Lenberg. Both the prelate and the governor considered the advent of these Russian exiles as an unexpected favour of Providence. Hoffmann and Poniatowski, metropolitan canons of the Latin rite, and Samuel Stefanowicz, who afterwards became archbishop of the Armenian metropolis, took under their protection these homeless monks, for the honour of whose residence many catholic cities disputed. That they might not be longer a burden to these extemporaneous benefactors, Father Landés took his departure for Vienna with a few of the flock committed to his care. They reached the capital on the 7th of June, 1820.* The court of Austria was willing to give the Jesuits permission to pass through the empire, but refused to allow them to become residents in it† unless they abjured their order. The Jesuits, however, having just renounced their property, their colleges, and their missions in Russia, rather than accept this suicide, would not purchase their re-establishment in the Austrian states from the successor of Francis II. on such conditions as these. The Count de Sauran‡ explained, in a report to the Emperor Francis, the reasons which militated in favour of the admission of the company. The Prince requested him to have an interview with Father Landés. Francis had desired to know the Jesuits personally, for he had made himself acquainted with the history of their labours and expectations. In an audience granted to the Fathers Szvietokowski and Landés he said to them. "I know all that you have suffered for religion, and I, a Catholic Emperor, ought not to remain

Note 23, p. xxxviii.

* After "7th of June, 1820," there is a note added in Ed. 1851, p. 53, "Father Landés found in 1820, seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Vienna, an old Jesuit, Father Hohenwart, who had been the tutor of the emperor Francis II."

† After "become resident in it," in p. 53, Ed. 1851, is omitted "unless they abjured their order."

‡ There is a second note added after "Count de Sauran," in p. 53, Ed. 1851: "The Count de Sauran had brought up Jesuits in the Theresian College of Vienna."

insensible to your sufferings; notwithstanding the clamours of those who hate without knowing you, I will open my kingdom of Gallicia* to you under the same conditions by which it was opened to your ancient fathers. I will assign a maintenance for fifty Jesuits, and if some statute essential to your constitution should be found not to harmonize with the law of the State, I authorize you to make an application in order to obtain a dispensation."

On the 13th of March, 1820, the Emperor of Russia proscribed the Jesuits, and on the 20th of August of the same year the Emperor of Austria offered them a new country. The tempest which had so long raged in Germany had not yet subsided. The war made against the democratic principle had, by the contact of opinions, and by the enthusiasm of the lower classes, aroused feelings of religious independence and freedom in the heart of Germany; it was therefore necessary to restore them little by little to the realities of life and to the necessities of their position.

Francis II. was wearied by the turmoils which had agitated the early part of his reign, and the aim of Prince Metternich was to establish peace in Europe. After the glorious conclusion of so many internal divisions, both the sovereign and his minister considered that the great means of attaining their end was by the diffusion of education.† Two colleges were founded; one at Tarnapol, the other at Lemberg. In a few years they became so flourishing that the population of Tarnapol was more than doubled, and from every point of Gallicia parents hastened to confide their children to the fathers of the institute. The Jews themselves, enticed by the example, forgot the prejudices inherent in

* After "kingdom of Gallicia," the next sentence is entirely omitted in p. 53, Ed. 1851, until the words "I will assign a maintenance," etc.

† The sentence beginning "two colleges," in p. 68, Ed. 1846, is altered in p. 54, Ed. 1851, to "One college was founded at Tarnapol. In a few years it became," etc.

their race, and wished that their sons should be brought up by the disciples of St. Ignatius. The good done by the Jesuits resounded in the heart of Prince Raczynski, archbishop of Gnesen, and primate of Poland. Before its suppression in 1773, he had been a member of the company: his youth had been spent in those labours which prepare for profession: he engaged himself by solemn vows, and he wished to resume in his latter days the yoke he had carried with so much happiness in youth. He solicited and obtained from the Holy See the favour of abdicating the dignities of the church. After some years passed in the Gésú at Rome, the old archbishop, once more a Jesuit, returned to Gallicia. The fathers had a residence at Przemysl, which was assigned him as a retreat, and there he died, while Antoine de Gotasza, bishop of that town, laid the foundation of a noviciate for the company. Another was created at Stara Wics.* As its name indicates, Stara Wics is only a village. In founding a noviciate there the fathers appear to have transgressed the will of their founder, who prescribed the establishment of these houses in cities,—there to mould themselves into the interior life. Loyola had calculated that to follow the career open to the Jesuits, young men ought not to be too much accustomed to solitude. He recommends them to catechize the masses, to visit in hospitals and prisons, to place themselves in contact with every species of wretchedness and want. A village can never offer this diversity of labour. But circumstances were imperative: it was necessary to comply with the wishes of those populations, and necessity triumphed over the counsels of St. Ignatius.

Note 24, p. xxxix.

Two years later the college of Tarnapol numbered more than four hundred pupils. In the month of October, 1823,

* In Ed. 1851, p. 54, after Stara Wics, the sentence beginning, "As its name indicates," etc., in p. 68, Ed. 1846, is omitted until the next paragraph, beginning "Two years later the college."

the Emperor wished to encourage by his presence both masters and pupils.* Father Pierling received him in this house, which after being extemporized itself, extemporized around its walls a new town. The rising generation were trained in habits of order and labour; the Jesuits, whose number annually increased, extended the benefits of their apostolate; the people had become attached to them; the prelates employed them in all works of ministration; their celebrity resounded up to the very gates of Cracow. Pierre Klobuszycki, archbishop of Colocza, and an old brother of their institute, invited them to go into Hungary. Prince Lobkowitz and the bishop, Thomas Ziegler, installed them in the ancient abbey of the Benedictines at Tyniec. It was to reform a poor population who were given up to habits of drunkenness. The Jesuits, poorer than themselves, devoted themselves to the task. They were seen braving the rigour of winter, breaking for those rough men the bread of the Word of life. They knew that it would be difficult to eradicate vices which were almost become a second nature. Their perseverance was successful. It was in these evangelical excursions that Potrykowski died under the weight of his labours. He was† a young Russian nobleman, who had abandoned his country to become a Jesuit. The cabinet of Vienna followed with an attentive eye the progress and the tendencies of the society. They contemplated it struggling with obstacles, and they received from the lips of the governors of provinces the praises which every one bestowed upon the institute. In the month of November, 1827, the Emperor, in conformity with a decree of the Court of Chancery (Chancellerie de Cour), dated on the 22nd, gave the fathers an official mark of his confidence.

Note 25, p. xlii.

"In the hope," thus the sovereign expresses himself, "that

* After "both masters and disciples," is altered in p. 54, Ed. 1851, to "Father Szvietokowski the provincial."

† After "he was," in p. 56, Ed. 1851, it is altered to "a young Polish gentleman," etc.

the Jesuits admitted into my kingdom of Gallicia will render useful service by instruction and the education of youth, as also by the temporary assistance given to those pastors who have a cure of souls, and that they may impose a salutary check to impiety and corruption of morals; that they will make their pupils good Christians and faithful subjects, and that by that means they will contribute to the true civilization and the happiness of my people;—I will agree to grant the respectful request they have presented to me, and I permit them the power of living in my kingdom of Gallicia according to the constitutions of their order, and according to vows taken by them in conformity with their institute." "Consequently, I permit them to continue without any interference, to correspond with the general of their order for the maintenance of discipline, and on all subjects connected with their internal administration and their constitutions approved of by the church." "Nevertheless, as to that which concerns sacerdotal functions, the celebration of divine service, preaching, the ministrations of the confessional, and the temporary assistance given to pastors having cure of souls, the Jesuits must be submitted to the bishops in such a way, that only their internal administration, and maintenance of discipline, will be reserved to the superiors of the order according to the laws of their institute." "However, fearing that the members of the order sent to distant places, might become strangers to life in community, the assistance given in the holy ministry of Gallicia shall take place in a manner conformable with the statutes of the order; that is to say, in the form of missions. And the father provincial shall arrange with the ordinaries of the place, as regards the persons who are to be employed there, and the duration of such missions." "In regard to the theological studies pursued in the homes of the order, they will continue to follow my decision of the 24th day of August, 1827." "In regard to all other studies, I permit them to follow the method prescribed by their insti-

tute, and that the direction shall be confided to the superiors of the order. Nevertheless, all the classical books which they make use of in their schools, and their scholars, must be submitted to the inspection and approbation of the competent authorities, in the manner which is prescribed throughout my states."

Thus the society of Jesus began to be reconstituted in Germany. It acquired there the right of citizenship; it could propagate itself under the shelter of the imperial sceptre. Some peaceful years passed away under the provincialate of Father Lœffler. But in the month of May, 1831, the cholera invaded Gallicia. Before this then unknown pestilence,* the whole population stood in silent horror. Fear reigned everywhere. The country people rushed into the towns calling for help; the people of the towns fled into the country to escape from the contagion. Gallicia alone had already lost more than ninety-seven thousand of its children. The active charity of the Jesuits appeared to increase with the terror. All at once a new disaster befell the Gallicians and the fathers; one single member of the company, named Wiesiclewicz,† who had devoted himself to the care of soldiers attacked by

* Before the ravages made by the cholera morbus in 1831-32 Europe did not recognize it as an epidemic. The pestilence appeared for the first time in the month of August, 1817, in a village in Hindoostan, situated in a marshy place not far from the mouths of the Ganges. The damp which had penetrated into these obscure habitations at the end of the rainy season was, it is said, the cause of this malady. At the sight of the first person attacked by those retchings and contractions of the nerves,—those fearful symptoms which precede death,—the Indians believed it to be the effect of poison. But the pestilence made such rapid progress that all were compelled to acknowledge it as an epidemic. The alarm was great; the inhabitants dispersed, and carried the seeds of the disease everywhere with themselves. Within six years the cholera invaded an extent of one thousand French leagues in breadth, and two thousand eight hundred in length, and destroyed nine millions of human beings. After having visited China, the empires of Siam and Bengal, Persia, and several other Asiatic countries in 1828, it attacked the Russian troops then fighting in Georgia; with them it passed into Russia, and from thence it fell upon Gallicia.

† In Ed. 1851, p. 57, the name is given as Kisiclewiez.

the pestilence, perished in the midst of them.* Others, supported by their courage, appeared to be sheltered from the contagion. During the night of the 3rd of May, 1831, the lightning struck the College of Tyniec, which had become the headquarters of the fathers. It was from thence that they went forth whenever the magistrates called for them. The fire made such rapid progress that the inhabitants who witnessed the disaster foresaw that the Jesuits would be obliged to seek another asylum. The idea of their departure plunged the Gallicians into despair;† they offered to rebuild the monastery which the Emperor had placed at the disposal of their apostles. The cholera had increased their poverty a hundredfold. In order not to be separated from the Jesuits they promised to share with them their already insufficient resources; there was no hesitation; famine threatened, and the need of their exertions was greater than ever. Nevertheless, the Jesuits felt what they owed to the people, whose tears and entreaties appeared to impose upon them the obligation of suffering with them, as a debt of gratitude. The Jesuits decided upon remaining in a country smitten with such accumulated misfortunes, and attached themselves to it from the very calamities which befell them there. The people had seen them braving danger and death to encourage or assist the sick. The imperial family felt that it belonged to them alone to recompense so many sacrifices. In 1833, the Archduke Ferdinand visited the homes of the company at Tarnopol, at Stara Wics, and at Sandetz. He declared himself

* Passerat, vice-general of the Redemptionists in Austria, wrote on the 2nd of July, 1831, to the Jesuit Nisard, who was at that time in Gallicia:—"I congratulate you, my reverend father, and all your holy society, on the special protection which Divine Providence has granted you, in the calamity which afflicts your country and threatens ours. But was it not just that the destroying angel should have had for the name of the Lamb which you bear, as much respect, as He had in times past for the mark of His blood."

† In Ed. 1851, p. 57, after "despair," it is altered to, "They offered to build a new house at Sandec in the place of the one the Emperor had," etc., etc.

their protector, and publicly thanked them for their charity. To consecrate this act of justice, the Emperor in 1834 augmented to the sum of five hundred* florins the stipend which the state paid to each of their establishments. François Pistek, the archbishop of Lembourg, and the Archduke Ferdinand testified a wish of forming a new establishment even in the capital of Gallicia. Scarcely had this wish been expressed when it was accomplished. The name of Jesuit had become as popular in Germany as in the time of Canisius, of Possevia, and D'Hoffæc; particularly in Tarnopol, where Father Paul Dunin had acquired among the students a celebrity which rang in the ears of all their families. This man, whose name is one of the glories of the country, had been often in a position to feel that poverty is to many young men of distinguished talents an obstacle that stops them in the midst of their career. He sought to repair these errors of fortune, in order to assure to these young men the means of obtaining instruction without having to blush before their fellow-students for a poverty which might humiliate them. He begged from door to door, and when he had received the alms which none refused to his benevolence, he secretly shared the gold he had obtained between those students whose position he alone knew; and until the 16th of August, 1838, the day of his death, he continued this work, by which more than one of the learned men of Germany profitted. Benefactors appeared at the same moment that the Jesuits were spreading their benefits everywhere. In every place in which they propagated virtue by education and by their eloquence they revived the Christian spirit. The Count Zadislas Tornowski, the Countess Agnes Mier, the counsellor of state, Szaniawski, and the principal people of the kingdom, associated themselves in their labours. Here they might be found in the hospitals or in the prisons. There, as at Lemberg, they undertook to carry ideas of morality and repentance into the

* In Ed. 1851, p. 53, it is altered to "five thousand florins."

bosom of the gallies. But already Gallicia was too contracted a sphere for their zeal. The government appreciated their value, and in the year 1829 they opened to them Styria and all the Austrian states. The Benedictine Zaengerle, Prince Bishop of Gratz, was the first who offered the Jesuits a residence at Gleisdorf, to begin in that town a noviciate. This bishop was actively employing himself in the reform of his clergy. He thought that the best co-operation he could obtain would be found in the company of Jesus. He petitioned to have them introduced into Styria. The avowed intention of the cabinet of Vienna was to induce the fathers to create a German province completely distinct from the province of Poland. Father Lœffler submitted to this engagement, which was established by an imperial decree of the 22nd of November, 1828. On the 2nd of April, 1829, Father Everard* Mayer, accompanied by two other Jesuits, took possession of the convent of Gleisdorf. There were private interests which opposed themselves to this establishment. The Jesuits soon found themselves without an asylum, and obliged, in order to live in community, to install themselves in a house† inhabited by a number of families and a female singer who belonged to the theatre.‡ This situation, as strange as it was precarious, did not discourage them. Like every other society, having in itself a distinct life from that of the individuals who compose it, who pass away or die, the institute of St. Ignatius knows admirably well how to adapt itself to circumstances. We have seen it during three centuries struggling against men of genius, of power, or of action: its perseverance triumphed. A pope imagined that he could kill it: he tried to carry (against his own will) this great blow against Catholicism. By means beyond his power the company of Jesus

Note 26, p. xlii.

* In Ed. 1851, p. 59, it is altered to "Father Jean Mayer."

† In Ed. 1851, p. 59, after "in a house," is added, "at Gratz."

‡ In Ed. 1851, p. 59, is omitted after "to the theatre" the whole of the next paragraph, to "the fathers sent into Styria."

has risen triumphantly from the grave in which Ganganelli conceived he had entombed it. The company felt itself called to new destinies; the material obstacles opposed to its increase in Germany must therefore be vanquished. The fathers sent into Styria asked nothing for themselves, nothing for their order. They devoted themselves to the endurance of the difficulties attendant on all new establishments. Difficulties of detail arose at every step: they did not heed them, but left to time the care of resolving them; and when they had been cleared away, they were not more elated by good than depressed by bad success. Seeing them thus indifferent to everything which did not shake the integrity of the apostolic See or the foundations of religious society, it might seem that success or defeat was as nothing in the multiplicity of their duties. They accepted of joy or sorrow with equal submission. At Gratz they could not find a proper residence, so they encamped, awaiting the day when the residence should offer itself. During this time Father Stœger astonished his hearers in the churches by his inspired words. Novices were attracted by their fame in the world: sometimes even theatres contributed to them. Three years passed over in this manner, and then when this abnormal state became more regular, Jaques Stopper, the secretary of the prince bishop, and Xavier Wirminger, a doctor of theology, entered the noviciate, accompanied by seventeen young men: four months afterwards they had doubled their number.

The Archduke Maximilian—the Vauban of Germany—entertained towards the Jesuits the same exalted esteem which Walstein, Spinola, Don Juan, Sobieski, Condi, Turenne, and Villars had been happy to shew to them. In 1835, he saw with his own eyes the embarrassments in which the Jesuits who had been settled at Gratz were placed. He was charged with the establishment of the fortifications of the town of Linz for the protection of the country and the Danube, which runs at the foot of the city. He transformed into a country

home one of the first towers which he had had built on the Fregenberg, and he added a beautiful church in the Gothic style. In order to give to his labours a religious consecration, he proposed to the Benedictine, Thomas Ziegler, Bishop of Linz, to offer this home to the institute, become by his care quite useless as a fortification. On the 10th of August, 1837, the Jesuits installed themselves there. The Archduke did not abandon his work in an incomplete state. He gave to the fathers the profits arising from the lands surrounding the new college, and he assigned them a yearly income sufficient for the support of thirty Jesuits on the mountain which his military genius has immortalized.

Note 27, p. xlvii

Austria, then, had accepted the Jesuits, not with any enthusiasm, but from the conviction of the good it would receive from their teaching. Francis II., so long tried, had entire confidence in the children of St. Ignatius. He loved them from motives combined at once of family tradition, of gratitude, and now as a new bond between himself and his people.* This love was not of an expansive nature, and the monarch only allowed them to gain ground step by step. It was theirs to create the demand for each new establishment, either by performing miracles of mercy, or by spreading the light of civilization throughout the most ignorant and benighted parts of the country. The Austrian Government studies its measures deeply and long, and ripens them with calm deliberation; it then applies them with vigorous determination. Accountable to none but to itself, it wishes that its acts should never evoke the censure of public opinion. Everything is performed discreetly, and as it were by invisible hands. But these silent and apparently absolute decrees are ordained for the benefit of the people, whose wishes are always consulted.

There was no longer any hesitation as to the sentiment

* After "between himself and his people," is omitted in Ed. 1851, p. 6, the whole of the next paragraph to "There was no longer any hesitation," etc., etc.

which bound him to the fathers. In every town where a Jesuit preached the Divine Word, crowds pressed around the pulpit. These happy results of their ministrations were confirmed by all the secular clergy, who welcomed the arrival of these missionaries as a public blessing. In the privacy of their colleges, in the midst of cities, or in retirement of the country, the Jesuits were found everywhere the same.* It is probable that Prince Metternich had not regarded their arrival in Austria without distrust. Educated in the school of Joseph II. and of Kaunitz, he had imbibed a secret repulsion for the company of Jesus, caused by the prejudices which malice and impiety are ever skilled in fomenting; but his discriminating mind quickly distinguished the truth from the plausible falsehood. The Jesuits were represented to him as reaching after the attainment of universal sway, and seeking to overthrow every authority that did not submit to the yoke of the institute. Prince Metternich, with the patient investigation which is the seal of his policy, discovered without any difficulty that they could only be hostile or dangerous to those whose aims and motives were evil, and from that day, without making any external demonstrations of favour, but without offering any impediment to the course they had taken, he

* In Ed. 1851, pp. 60, 61, the paragraph after "the Jesuits were everywhere the same," is altered to, "Prince Metternich, the supreme arbiter of all affairs, was surrounded by men who had professed the principles of Joseph II. He knew every difficulty and every want, but following his great maxim of always doing the contrary to that which the enemy wished, he resolved to be just and favour the Jesuits. He presented himself as one of their principal supporters, he cleared away obstacles, he assisted the fathers by his advice and his influence; above prejudice from the elevation of his mind, always master of himself by the power and equability of his character, he had early distinguished truth from received falsehood. People had described the Jesuits to him as endeavouring to seize upon every species of power, aspiring to overthrow all those who did not submit to the yoke of their institute. Prince Metternich, with that patient investigation which was the seal of all his policy, discovered without any difficulty that they were only dangerous or hostile to those possessed by bad passions, and from that day, without protective demonstrations, as well as without," etc., etc.

allowed them to respond to the appeal of the bishops and Catholics. Their name alone awakened an echo of faith in all hearts, their lessons inculcated and revived good morals, their gentleness and urbanity made learning pleasant and popular, and they could in perfect liberty devote themselves to the incessant cares of apostleship by means of the pulpit, of education, and by works of charity.

On the 17th of October, 1838, the Emperor Ferdinand, at the request of the Count de Wilczez, governor of the Tyrol, and at the prayer of the states of this province, confided to the care of the Jesuits their ancient college of Innspruck. Father Pierre Lange was its first rector. The increase of this house was so rapid that two years after its foundation it contained three hundred and eighty-seven pupils.* Without any ostensible support from the Government, which is to the Jesuits a very real benefit, they had learned after a few years of struggle to drag the institute from under its ruins. Asking nothing of the authorities excepting the right of preaching the morality of the Gospel, and of participating in the sufferings of all, they had succeeded in giving to their resuscitated society, that second life which is so difficult to infuse into any corporate body. Nothing had frightened them in Germany: they had against them old lies which were continually reproduced, and new calumnies sown among the masses to produce a harvest of hatred. The revolution and antichristian spirit took alarm at the opposition it was to encounter, and tried to destroy it while yet in the bud. This struggle, which still exists, and the phases of which are so profoundly instructive for Germany, has as yet only given a greater development to the Jesuits. The Austrian Government is not one of those which from its own weakness shews more deference to their adversaries than esteem or fidelity to

* After "three hundred and thirty-seven pupils," in Ed. 1851, p. 61, is omitted the whole of the next paragraph until, "They increased in Germany: the same success awaited them in England."

their friends. Under this power, apparently slumbering in its strength, there is an energy which did not escape the perception of the Jesuits. They thought it would be possible for them to struggle successfully, since the cabinet of Vienna, the episcopate, and the people made themselves a rampart of protection to them, and of confidence. They never fell back before their enemies. This courage, inspired by wisdom, increased their influence: they increased in Germany, and the same success awaited them in England.

Note 28, p. l.

As long as the three kingdoms were governed by their legitimate princes, the last of the Tudors and the first of the Stuarts shewed themselves everywhere as the personal enemies of the company of Jesus. We have already related the history of this persecution. Commenced under Elizabeth, it did not expire even on the death-bed of the virgin Queen. Always equally inhuman, this persecution became more ridiculous under the sceptre which James I. transformed into the ferule of a pedagogue. Charles I. neither knew how to protect his friends, to combat his adversaries, or to defend himself: he had all the weakness and incurred all the misfortunes of kings without a will. Charles II., his son, imagined that the brilliancy of his fêtes and the luxury of his selfish pleasures, would drown the voices of extreme parties which he attempted to stifle in blood. James II. sought support in a religious reaction: he was the most affable of tyrants, and England punished him even in his posterity for the crimes of his ancestors.

Note 29, p. lii.

The revolution of 1688 was made to the cry of "Death to the Jesuits." When this revolution had exhausted its first fury, the Jesuits found themselves more peaceably situated than ever under the new dynasty.

Note 30, p. liv.

England had waded through a sea of blood to obtain liberty of conscience. She thought herself sufficiently strong, and she was sufficiently just to wish that each individual within the limit of the laws should enjoy that right which

had been bought by so many sacrifices. The Roman faith was then maintained in the bosom of certain families by the fathers of the company of Jesus; by them it had been still propagated for nearly three hundred years. Being strengthened under proscription, and multiplied by the scaffold, the Catholics were purified in the furnace of affliction; they had seen spoliation by law invade their hearths and homes; they had wandered in the woods, concealing their virtues as a criminal would hide his crimes. From the wealthy English landed proprietor to the most obscure peasant of Ireland, there was found in the memories of all, or in their family archives, some history of their devotion to Christian principle. The name of the Jesuits mingled naturally with these melancholy but glorious recitals. The company had suffered so much to preserve the faith of the Catholics from inevitable wreck, that they did not consider themselves safe from apostacy, but in keeping near them those missionaries whose instructions had taught them the secret of *perseverance*.

Note 31, p. lv.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the British cabinet acknowledged to itself, that in a country so strongly constituted, there was disgrace without benefit in torturing men's consciences, and imposing obligations upon others which no man would like to submit to himself. Little by little they allowed these penal laws to fall into disuse, which had reduced to slavery the faithful of the three kingdoms. Jesuits were no longer pursued as if they were public malefactors. If the faith had not been deeply rooted in the heart of Great Britain, this well-judged toleration following political commotions, might have proved fatal to Catholicism. But it was not thus. Prosperity had not engendered apathy; and by a zeal as full of prudence as of activity, the fathers of the institute profited by the calm which was granted them to cultivate and foster, in the souls around them, devotion to their religious duties.

Hitherto they had trusted to chance hospitality; their

daily bread was no more assured to them than their resting-place; both one and the other were at the mercy of the pious gratitude of the Catholics. The Jesuits had lived in safe retreats, from whence they only emerged to fortify and bless the souls of men. From the day when liberty became no longer a deception, they at once understood that with the march of opinion, and the great progress of the national mind, they had no longer to fear those unusual persecutions of which past ages had given an example. Without incurring the penalty of laws, they might proclaim their devotion to the apostolic See from the deepest recesses of their hearts. They began to create fixed homes for themselves, where, at first in secret but openly by degrees, they lived in community.

Such were in their origin the missions of Liverpool, Bristol, Preston, Norwich, and several other towns. A small chapel was annexed to their homes, and, without exciting a murmur against them, the faithful had the liberty of praying in them. When the brief of Clement XIV. suppressed the company, the Jesuits were living in this manner, of which nothing interrupted the peace.

A sovereign pontiff sacrificed their institute to the enemies of the church; the fathers sighed and submitted. It was very difficult to replace them in Great Britain. The vicars apostolic, who more than once contended with them on points of jurisdiction, were constrained to allow them the exercise of the ministry in their own residences. The Jesuits no longer existed; they were dead in law, and had no rights. The Catholics did not wish, as far as they could avoid it, to associate themselves in this suicide, with which fear had inspired Ganganelli. The colleges where their children were brought up, at St. Omers, Bruges, and Ghent, fell under the brief "*Dominus ac Redemptor.*" The house which the Jesuits had founded at Liege was not so unfortunate; it outlived the destruction of the order. Father Howard, encou-

raged by the prince bishop, was able to carry on the good work there, of which his predecessors had sown the seed.

This college the Catholics thought might be a nursery for evangelical labourers, destined to succeed the Jesuits. When Pius VI. took it under his own protection, and that of the Holy See, he did not conceal in his brief that it was his intention to make these new priests the continuators and supporters of the primitive mission. The French revolution deranged this plan. Its first work, when it overflowed Belgium, was to destroy the college, and drive out both the masters and scholars. They were about to be left homeless and hopeless, developing Catholicism in Great Britain, when a rich and noble Englishman, Thomas Weld, was touched by the misfortunes which threatened his co-religionists. The Continent was shut against the ancient Jesuits, who did not give up the idea of forming a native clergy in order to replace themselves in their own country. Thomas Weld opened England to them. This family, famous by its sympathy with all great misfortunes, after having received the proscribed Jesuits, will be found thirty-seven years afterwards placing its old castle of Lulworth at the disposal of Charles X., when banished from France, possessed an estate in Lancashire called Stonyhurst. Thomas Weld consecrated this mansion to the remnant of the society of Jesus, and the pupils who followed them into exile. Scarcely were these children of Loyola, who could no longer recruit their numbers, established on this spot, now become so dear to religion, when they began to occupy themselves in filling up the vacancies which death occasioned in their ranks. They formed a class of priests, as devout as they were learned, of young men who might carry into the bosom of their families, that courage and faith of which they afforded and had received an example. The fathers of the suppressed institute did not condemn themselves to silence or death, because Clement XIV. had struck the tree with sterility. They felt within themselves a

Note 32, p. lvii.

principle of life superior to any material obstacles. With the majority of their dispersed brotherhood, they believed that new events, immense consequent disasters, and mature reflection would sooner or later induce the Holy See to revoke the brief of Ganganelli.

All that had occurred in Prussia and Russia, the marvellous preservation of the order of St. Ignatius, the favourable dispositions which Pius VI. entertained towards them, encouraged them in this hope. Since 1786, the Jesuits of Great Britain, who had not had to struggle with the Government, and who, being placed beyond the pale of the brief, found themselves in the same position as before, supplicated the vicar-general to incorporate them into the newly re-established society. This was impossible without transgressing the commands of the Pope, and the vicar-general signified to the fathers of the old British province, that they must renounce this project. In 1800, when Pius publicly authorized the existence of the Jesuits in Russia, the English Jesuits reiterated their demand, the obstacle had been removed. Gruber solicited the Holy See to admit into the society those who desired to die in it, after having devoted their lives to the glory of the Church. The sovereign pontiff granted their petition, and Father William Strickland was ordered to elevate to the degree of professor Father Marmaduke Stone, rector of the New English College, and to establish him as provincial. On the 22nd day of May, 1803, this solemnity took place.

Note 33, p. lviii.

Scarcely had the news of this reconstitution of the order in England been made known, than the old Jesuits came flocking to Stonyhurst, happy again to take upon themselves the rules of St. Ignatius. Among the most ardent of these might be distinguished the Fathers Thomas Stanley, Peter O'Brien, Lawson, Jenkins, Edward Church, and Joseph Reeve, whose names are dear to every Catholic, and precious to the young. Charles and Robert Plowden, Thomas Reeve,

Lewis, James Leslie, Edward Howard, Price, Johnson, and a certain number of young priests, came to increase the cohort.

Note 34, p. lix.

The company, now risen from the tomb, desired to secure its perpetuity. The three kingdoms were then engaged in a terrible struggle with Napoleon; the blood and treasure of the country were lavished on the field of battle and in diplomatic intrigues; patriotism and ambition, hatred and selfishness were the motive powers of this contest between these great empires. England was shaken to her centre, but she appeared to gather strength from the danger. Pitt had neither the time or the inclination to oppose the re-establishment of the institute. England had been indifferent to its destruction, and believed herself strong enough to disregard its resurrection. Every eye was turned towards the Continent. The Jesuits took advantage of this preoccupation, and in order that they might not be taken unawares, they decided that a noviciate should now be created. They only required one house and a garden, and the generosity of Thomas Weld provided both. Father Charles Plowden was charged with the direction of this establishment. Thomas Weld had until this time only offered to the Jesuits the superfluity of his fortune; he now did more: he gave* his son to the company, and with him Walter Clifford and Thomas Tate entered into their noviciate.

In this position the institute was likely to increase rapidly, when an obstacle was raised by the very authority which ought to have concurred in its propagation.

At different periods there had been serious conflicts between these missionaries and the vicars apostolic. The Jesuits interfered rather to assist the Catholic cause than from any spirit of domination. The rights of these two parties had never been well defined or well understood. In the administration of

* Altered in p. 65, Ed. 1851, to, "He gave his two sons to the company, Edward and John, who afterwards became the Rector of Stonyhurst; with these entered into," etc., etc.

the Church in England there arose from time to time dissensions between them which more than once compromised both the present and the future. Considering the position in which the disciples of St. Ignatius had been placed, it might have been expected that these conflicts would not have been revived, and that each party in its own sphere would have laboured to assist in the common cause; but it was not so.* The name of the company was popular among the Catholics of the three kingdoms; their blood had mingled on the scaffold with the blood of their ancestors; the Jesuits had lived and suffered under their roofs: they had been the guests and the teachers of the past and of the rising generation. The double bond which the prison and the axe of the executioner had so often drawn still closer, established between the Catholics and the order of Loyola a relation sanctioned by time, by services, and by gratitude. The authority of the vicars apostolic had never been contested, but it was as transitory as the life of the person who held the office; from that cause alone it was exposed to the errors of self-love. Some of the delegates of the Holy See had arranged themselves against this precarious sort of authority, and, like Richard Schmitt, they attempted to weaken the prestige which surrounded the Jesuits—it may be said, against their will. This movement of the vicars apostolic, so highly injurious to Catholicism, had only served to elevate the institute. The Jesuits found decided adversaries in some of these prelates, but they also found others who, like the illustrious Milner, identified themselves completely with them.

In the present state of affairs such conflicts are no longer possible in England, where everything is exposed to public canvass. This publicity occasions without doubt many wilful errors and even falsehoods; like every other species of liberty which exists by monopoly. But the English press, which had

Note 35, p. lxii.

* Omitted in p. 66, Ed. 1851, from "the name of the company," to "had only served to elevate the institute," etc.

hitherto been so intolerant and hostile to the Jesuits, appeared at last, from about 1810, to have returned to a sense of justice. It was a period of much political intrigue, which subsequently increased and proclaimed itself an engine of power.

In all this turmoil of passions and ideas which marked the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jesuits did not concern themselves with any of the events which agitated Europe. While the English had never seen the company possessed of liberty of action, and living as it were in the light of public observation, they indulged in dark suspicions and imputations against them. But from the day when the fathers were permitted to pray, to preach the Gospel and to teach, subject only to the control and supervision of the law of the land, the Jesuits were no longer suspected of conspiracy, and even the most hostile sects willingly bore witness of their innocence. By belying the facts of the history of the disciples of St. Ignatius, they had been treated and considered as criminals in every other quarter of the globe. Constitutional France, liberal Spain, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and revolutionary Belgium,—all united in one loud cry of malediction. But in the country the most opposed to Catholic tendencies, that cry was destined to remain without an echo.*

Note 36, p. lxiv.

With their practical good sense, the English soon understood that a continual warfare carried on against men innocent of all the crimes sought to be laid to their charge, must necessarily entail a war against the opinions which they patronized. The English, placing themselves at the head of European civilization, would not submit to such an insult to their national pride; they accepted the Jesuits as they were, fully convinced that, as they claimed the light of day, it would always be easy to strike them if they sought the shade. The

* The reason of this is clear; the Roman Catholic countries knew the system of the Jesuits, and hence, necessarily, the cry of malediction. England was utterly ignorant of them, as the sequel proves, and hence that cry was without an echo.—Ed.

Jesuits did not seek the shade, and the British cabinet and the British press never found a pretext for acting darkly by them without cause.

The position which we have just described, and which the two parties maintained from 1810 to 1845,* was still not so clearly defined when the vicars apostolic endeavoured to create embarrassments to the Society. With the meddlesome precaution with which the fear of being compromised so frequently inspires men with the best intentions, certain delegates of the Holy See refused to acknowledge as Jesuits those priests whom Pius VII. himself had encouraged to proclaim themselves as such. When the Sovereign Pontiff, by his bull, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, of 7th of August, 1814, had obviated these difficulties, the same delegates entrenched themselves behind a chimera which they cherished as a reality; they feared that the existence of the Jesuits in the bosom of the three kingdoms would arouse again the old ferment of discord, and that already the government was preparing a new perse-

Note 37, p. lxvi.

* The ignorance of England in "being fully convinced that the Jesuits claimed the light of day," was never more evinced in any period of its history, than in that which is comprehended in the very dates that are here specified.

In 1808 the whole body of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland selected for the guidance of all the priests, and, through them, of all the people of the country, the work of a Professor of the Jesuit College of Louvaine, teeming with all the worst principles of the Jesuits, which was kept so secret, that though used by every priest, it was never discovered for twenty-seven years. In 1813 they had a Bible printed with notes, which they called the "infallible interpretation of the Church;" of which we can only say that they teemed with intolerance and treason; and this they had privately circulated through Ireland among subscribers procured by the priests. They had the same reprinted at Cork in 1818. In 1826 they addressed a pastoral on oath to priests and people, publicly abjuring before Protestants the very principles in which they had been training those priests to teach the people; and while they renounced on oath the temporal power of the Pope, they were enforcing it that very year, by the Bulla Cœnæ Domini, on the whole population of the country. So much for "the light of day," which England believed to be claimed by the Jesuits.—Ed.

cution against the Catholics. There was no truth in this surmise: there could be none. But these dissensions dividing the party could only tend to weaken it. It is very difficult in fact for any party, even though it be a portion of Catholic unity, to grow or even subsist when it is distracted by intestine war; to put an end to this state of things the Jesuits submitted to all the conditions imposed on them:* they knew themselves to be necessary, but would not assert their own importance.

In the midst of all these contests their zeal suffered no diminution. On the 31st of July, 1810, the feast of St. Ignatius, Thomas Weld, the benefactor of the institute, died the death of a saint in the college which he had founded. Every year augmented the number of pupils in this house; and every year also saw the Jesuits gaining ground;† they advanced noiselessly, suppressing the triumph of to-day under their hope for the morrow—leaving nothing to chance; and when, in 1817, Father Grivel was nominated visitor of the province by Brzozowski, he had only to approve of what had been already done, and of the plans then in the course of execution. Father Charles Plowden was chosen by him as the Provincial. In 1823 Plowden died, and Nicholas Lewall‡ replaced him; and six years later Father Brooke was called to succeed to Lewall.

But during this interval notable changes had been introduced into English legislature; the Catholics, hitherto only tolerated, had reconquered their rights§ as freemen and citi-

* Altered in page 67, Ed. 1851, to "they believed themselves useful."

† There is nothing more dangerous in the system of the Jesuits than the silent stealthy movements of that body; they are like the noiseless tread of the tiger as he steals to spring on his prey. The preceding note amply illustrates this.—Ed.

‡ Altered in page 68, Ed. 1851, to "Nicholas Sewall."

§ The sentiments expressed here are those wnich have been practically exhibited since 1829; the language of the Papacy before that professed that emancipation would be a boon to be received with gratitude: since then it is held to have been a right extorted by fear, and instead of the peace that

zens. This was the reparation of past iniquities, the consecration of a great principle. The first orators in Parliament, at the head of whom George Canning and Lord Grey shone conspicuously, supported the justice of the demands addressed to it by the Catholics. These demands wounded to the quick the Anglican Church; nevertheless they were exacted from the reason of the government and the good sense of the public. Emancipation, so long adjourned and so long discussed, was at length taken into serious consideration, and soon after admitted as a law of the kingdom. But in 1829, when these formidable discussions were at their height, a bill was promulgated which threatened to re-open the whole question. This bill forbade all subjects of the British crown to bind themselves by any religious vows in England, or to return to reside there after having taken such vows in any other country. The penalty of banishment was pronounced against all who should infringe this law. The Jesuits knew that it was peculiarly directed against themselves;* but they made no account of it, because they were fully aware that it arose solely from the passions excited by the bill of emancipation, which had been the battle-field of the last fury of Protestantism.

They desired to shew that whether free or enslaved nothing could compel them to enter into the arena of intrigues; they desired to prove that they could fulfill their duties as calmly as priests and as Jesuits, under the stroke of persecution as

was promised and anticipated, the language of revenge for its having been so long withheld, appears ever since to have taken the place of gratitude for its concession.—Ed.

* The Jesuits and all the Papacy, for they are proved by this book to have been nearly identified in these realms, were perfectly well aware that when the great principle of admitting them to power was conceded, they had no reason to fear any attempt successfully to introduce any minor contract; and the utter futility of any professed protection in the bill of 1829, and the total worthlessness of the Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill, have proved how just were their calculations.—Ed.

under the shelter of protection; they therefore remained silent and unmoved at the post *confided to their vigilance*. That post was so well guarded that, 1826 and 1835, eleven churches were built by their labours. Even then that movement towards Catholicism had begun among the noble and learned classes, which has since progressed with such rapidity that it is impossible to calculate its ultimate issue.

In the presence of the Catholic idea, which has lost nothing of its original vitality, Great Britain was neither agitated or alarmed. She saw Jesuits founding colleges, building churches —even in the capital of the three kingdoms: she measured the fervour of the welcome accorded to Puseyism,* and heard

* Puseyism is the designation given to the modern system of Anglican theology, which has become so celebrated during several years past; it is a school of the most distinguished scholars, almost all professors or pupils of the University of Oxford. The name is derived from Dr. Pusey, and was given to it in 1833. From that period certain projects touching the reform of the established Church have been agitated in the English press. It was not one of those vulgar attacks upon the splendour and opulence of the clergy; not one of those inapplicable theories which religious and political charlatans invent upon which to erect a pedestal to their own vanity, always inflated by the praises which they lavish upon themselves. But, on the contrary, it was a serious plan discussed by the avowed friends, or by certain members of the Anglican Church. They aspired to modify its constitution, its liturgy, and its formularies. Those who spoke in this manner were not agreed in all points; discord was rife amongst them; and out of this conflict Puseyism arose. In 1833 the new school, still very few in number, began to publish* *The Tracts for the Times*, and other polemical works; some intended for the defence of Anglicanism, others directed against Rome or against the

* The lamentable failure in our Universities in not providing any sound distinctive teaching for their pupils in the pure doctrines of Protestant truth as contradistinguished from Popish error, accounts too clearly for the ignorance both of our statesmen and clergy on the subject. Had our statesmen been informed on the subject, Mr. Pitt had never proposed such questions to the foreign universities, nor had the committees of Parliament in 1825 depended on the oaths of Papal bishops. Had the Bishop of Oxford known anything of Popery, he would not have allowed the *Tracts for the Times* to proceed till it was asserted that we might subscribe the canons of Trent and the articles of the Church of England.—Ed.

the most distinguished members of her universities proclaim their Anglican doubts, or shelter their new-born faith under

Protestant dissenters. *The British Critic*, a quarterly review, became the organ of this sect, which, unlike all the others, honestly sought for light. In 1836, Dr. Hampden, nominated by the cabinet of St. James's to a professorship of theology at Oxford, was accused of rationalism, and censured by the council of the University for some of his former writings. At the head of the opposition created by his system in Oxford were distinguished Pusey, Vaughan Thomas, and Newman. Pusey was the most conspicuous: and he rendered his position more prominent by the publication of a remarkable work in defence of his opinions; and this was the initiative which gave his name to the party.

At first the heads of Puseyism appeared to have no other object than to support and reconstitute Anglicanism.

According to the tracts, and to their other polemical or dogmatic writings, the Puseyite party started from this fundamental point, that the old Reformers were men of relaxed tendencies, and that they, on the contrary, obliged themselves to be as exact in dogma as in discipline: they said to the Anglicans, "Maintain the creed of Athanasius and all the doctrines of baptism; make no compromise with the spirit of the age through evil report and good; never compromise your obligations; never forget the duties that since your regeneration in Christ by holy baptism you have contracted with the Church. The Church ought never to be dependent upon the State; but its alliance is an honour to the state: revive the discipline which has fallen into disuse; rekindle in the minds of men the memory of those virtues which our Church has unhappily neglected to foster, but which it has never lost.* Observe the days of abstinence and the feasts of the saints; submit yourselves to the rubric; open your temples, and our church will then appear what she really is,—pure apostolic; and rejecting the doctrinal corruptions as well as the superstitious, if not even idolatrous, practices of the Church of Rome—her unhappy sister; practices clearly reprobated by antiquity, to whose testimony we appeal with respect." Such then were the primitive doctrines of the Puseyites: they set themselves diligently to work; they studied Christianity and the constituent essential of Catholic unity, not only in the Protestant theological works of the three last centuries, but in the holy fathers, the living tradition of the apostles. The zeal of the Puseyites equalled their learning and their candour. They had often violently attacked the chair of Peter in their early tracts, because it was not so much their object to inculcate Catholic truths considered in themselves as to vivify the Anglican system, as their school comprehended it. Though seen through a discoloured medium, the study of

* Omitted, p. 69, Ed. 1851, the whole sentence after "has never lost," to "the rubric; open your temples," etc., etc.

the Ægis of the Holy See—the only immutable authority on earth. As the British government had laid down the funda-

Note 38, p. lxxiii.

ecclesiastical antiquity produced unexpected discoveries. The very nature of the polemical investigations in which the Puseyites were engaged obliged them to bring to light doctrines and acts the sanctity of which they could not deny, though those acts and those doctrines belonged to the Roman Church. Upon reflective minds passionately seeking for truth, such discoveries had the effect of tempering their bitterness and modifying their opinions. *The Tracts* had founded a school; the first disciples of Puseyism, as it always happens, became ill at ease under the constraint of their original formulary, and began to push their investigations still further: they had been invited to the study of antiquity, and being young and sincere, they applied themselves to it seriously and conscientiously.

The celebrated question, "*A Roma potest aliquid boni esse?*" had been placed before them, and they proceeded to seek for more conclusive reasons than those stereotyped by the old universities in the feeble logic of the professors. It was the result of these studies which brought back to Catholicism the Doctors Sibthorp, Grant, Scuger, and many others. Pusey and Newman, from the very centre of Anglicanism, still sought after truth* with truly youthful ardour, and they themselves made most notable approaches towards the Catholic Apostolic and Roman faith. In 1843 Pusey recognized the dogma of transubstantiation, as the Church declares it, and in a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, in the cathedral of Christ's, he did not disguise his convictions. This sermon was in itself a revolution: both the doctrine and its form were censured, and the courageous preacher was visited with an interdict by the University: but this sermon, printed under the title of *The Holy Eucharist the comfort of the Penitent*, was published, and 300,000 copies were sold. It procured the adhesion of multitudes even among the dignitaries of the University. During this time Dr. Newman had resigned his care of St. Mary's, Oxford, in order to devote himself more entirely to the study and practices of the ascetic life. He even retracted the accusations which, from 1833 to 1837, he had brought against the Catholic Church; and *The Statesman*, a London Protestant newspaper, did not fear to say, "This is a grave event in the crisis of which we ourselves are witnesses." In 1845, Newman, with a host of his friends, gave proof of its gravity by entering into the bosom of unity. The Puseyites, drawn by evi-

* It is a stretch of Christian charity to apply the terms, "*seeking after truth*," to men whose works confound truth and error,—the documents which they have sworn to believe *ex animo* with those that are directly antagonistic to them: it is a direct attempt to prove that a man can serve two masters, and the authority against that service is too high to allow an admission of the principle.—Ed.

mental principle of liberty, it adopted all its consequences. The Jesuits were citizens of England; and by that title, which

dence and against their inclinations towards the Roman faith, still pretended, it is true, that they never can go the whole length of Romanism, but they nevertheless, in fact, embraced a portion of its dogmas and even of its practices. A certain number of the disciples of Puseyism returned honestly to Catholicism. Since April, 1841, the publication of *The Tracts* had been suspended, but the means of propagation of their views were not wanting to this party; it prevailed in several universities or seminaries, and extended itself to America and even to India. *The British Critic*, still continuing its quarterly appearance, began gradually to relax in its attacks upon Rome, and now turned its learned hostility against the Reformers of the sixteenth century. The writers in this review were Anglican, and from the height of their lofty reason they judged with inflexible equity all those men who seconded Luther, Calvin, and Henry VIII., in their separation from the Holy See. This school, pacifically progressive, shakes the foundation of Anglicanism, seeks for nothing but the truth. It has attained a remarkable influence by the extent of its ramifications and by its literature. It makes numbers of proselytes, and the means it employs are openly acknowledged. It works by discussion, and addresses itself to men of learning in erudite treatises, some original, others reprinted; for the generality of readers, less elaborated writings; for the poor, and working classes, facts and dissertations suited to their comprehension; for children, familiar tales. Without doubt there are not in all these works the same identical idea, or any regular system, but they all tend to the same end; clearly demonstrating how much power the new doctrine* propagated by Puseyism exercises over the belief of Englishmen. It has penetrated everywhere; into parliament, into the magistracy, but principally among the middle classes. It affects to place itself upon a footing of paternal equality with the Catholics of the Continent. Sometimes they represent the universal Church as divided into three branches, —Greek, Roman, and Anglican; then they flatter themselves with the idea

* In one sense it may be called new, as it is novel to hear the doctrines of Popery openly promulgated from the pulpits of the Church of England; but as to the doctrine itself it is not new: it is the old leaven from the day that Cain offered an unbloody sacrifice,—from the day that the Israelites set up a calf in Horeb,—from the day that the Judaizing teachers taught, "Except you be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, you cannot be saved,"—from the day that Simon Magus thought that the gift of God could be purchased with money, and that the priests of Diana opposed the Gospel because their craft was in danger to be set at nought; from that day to the days of Dr. Cullen and Dr. Pusey, the superstitions and idolatries of Popery have been indigenous in the heart of man.—Ed.

they claimed with pride, they enjoyed the right to instruct the youth, to spread their faith, and to guide other men in those paths of religion which each has the privilege to choose for himself.

Note 39, p. lxxvi.

Thus the heretics of Great Britain, like those of Germany and France, shew themselves more tolerant in respect to Catholicism—their natural adversary, than men born in the bosom of the Church of Rome, who aspire to chill her to death by their sceptical indifference, or to strangle her by constitutions, of which they establish themselves the sole interpreters and the only regulators. Ireland had never been placed in such favourable conditions as Catholic England; the Jesuits attached themselves to her destinies by the very persecutions of which she was the object; a country, the energy of whose faith conferred on her the privilege of suffering. Ireland, always enslaved and always faithful, is a living testimony of Protestant iniquity and of Christian endurance. From the first days of its foundation, the order of Jesus* afforded to

that there exists between them an invisible union, sanctioned by the Holy Spirit. Strange contradictions! With great leaning towards the Catholics of the Continent, there exists in some of the Puseyites a species of antipathy to the English Catholics. The Puseyites do not see without pain their brothers enter into the circle of unity, and when in 1845 Dr. Newman and several of his principal disciples took this last step, Pusey himself could not resist giving public expression to his regret. Some believe that this new school flatters itself that it will one day be followed by all the faithful in the three kingdoms, and several times insinuations have been made to that effect. The Catholics remained immoveable, and several Puseyites, drawn by the force of truth, have renounced the theories by which they had been captivated. They sought for a logical whole; the Church of Rome offered it, and they have accepted it. This new school finds itself at this moment in an inextricable embarrassment; it must either retire or advance under penalty of suicide. The system of examination has sapped the foundations of Anglicanism, and they dare not take refuge in Catholicism, to which their approximations rendered almost at the same time good and evil service. The mission of Puseyism began in serious studies; it should be continued by progress in knowledge, and end in the faith.

* In these few words British statesmen may learn the whole history of

Ireland apostles and consolers, and in every epoch it has shewn how well they knew how to offer her comfort. But when the institute saw its own existence menaced, the Irish, whose proscription always existed, had tears of regret to shed for the fathers who had supported them under their trials during three centuries.

The Jesuits have only been able to realize in that country good without renown; good, without any of those social advantages with which the world believe them to be so much occupied; nevertheless they have never given up a country where all seems condemned to despair. The brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* having annihilated the company of Jesus, the children of Loyola would not be discouraged like a flock of sheep because their shepherd had abandoned them. Rome had disbanded her best soldiers, on the very eve of the day when the Holy See was to be attacked on all sides at once. The Jesuits, while obeying the pontifical brief, did not believe it to be their duty to desert the post committed to their charge. They, like the Irish, were poor; but this destitution, which had its source in charity, did not disquiet them. They united themselves in indigence, and laboured together for the harvest which God had reserved for their zeal. They waited for happier days. Father Richard Callaghan, an old missionary from the Philippines, whose hand and tongue bore traces of the martyrdom he had endured for the faith, directed the secularized Jesuits. They could not found an establishment in Ireland to receive the young men, whom they hoped soon to gather into their order, whenever it should again arise from its ruins. The college of Stonyhurst opened its bosom to receive some of them; others went to Palermo, where they completed their studies. In 1807, Richard

Note 40, p. lxxviii.

Note 41, p. lxxix.

Ireland as their difficulty. Every phase of sedition and rebellion from 1641 to 1798, and from that to 1848, whether Peep-o'-day Boys, Caravats, Shanavests, Defenders, Whitefeet, Blackfeet, Rockites, Ribbonmen, or Phœnix Conspirators,—these have been all alike the disciples, and the Jesuits have been the apostles and missionaries, of their religion and their morals.—Ed.

Callaghan died, burdened with years and good works. In 1811, the death of Thomas Betah broke the last link which in Ireland attached the new scholars to the ancient company. Betah,* whose name is still popular in Dublin and in Ireland, found in his heart that species of eloquence which excites the natural instincts of this people in so lively a manner. Father Kenny† succeeded him in the month of November. With a patience which nothing could overcome, the Jesuits set themselves to work exactly as if the sovereign Pontiff had restored them to life.

They felt the great disadvantages of that sort of cosmopolite education which, by displacing children from their country in their youth, gives them less of patriotic feeling. Ireland, according to them, had a right to see her children reared upon her own proscribed soil, in order that, nourished in her misfortunes, they might on some future day claim her emancipation with more energy. *It*‡ *was this thought* that inspired Father Kenny with the project of forming a national college; and he did create one at Clongowes, not far from

* In Ed. 1851, p. 27, is added a note: "Betah was vicar-general of Dublin; his funeral was celebrated by an immense concourse of people, and a monument was erected to his memory by the Catholics."

† Altered in Ed. 1851, p. 73, to "Father Kenny, already superior of the archiepiscopal seminary, succeeded."

‡ How remarkably this history indicates the real circumstances of Ireland. We see that the bull of Ganganelli produced no effect there, and never for a moment interrupted the work of the Jesuits in that country,—"*they set themselves to work exactly as if he had restored them.*" It is clear that politics was their great object—Father Kenny, their agent—and Clongowes their institution. Religion was but the means to the end, as it is in all their proceedings; it was not to feed souls with the "bread of life," but to organize them for sedition, that their spiritual pastors laboured. This reminds me of a story told me by a dear and venerable friend, the late Lord Mountsandford. He was paying a visit to those two remarkable recluses, Lady E. Butler and Miss Ponsonby, at their cottage in Wales. A tenant of one of them, I think of Lady E. Butler, had come from the vicinity of Clongowes to solicit some favour from this lady, shortly after the establishment of this college. She said,—

Dublin. The restoration of the institute augmented its prosperity to such a degree, that in 1819 they had more than two hundred and fifty disciples. In the same year, the generosity of Mary O'Brien enabled them to build another in the district of King's County. It was necessary to raise the Irish from the state of moral debasement in which it was the policy of England to keep them. To this people the great voice of Daniel O'Connell, a pupil of the Jesuits, first taught the meaning of liberty. It* was necessary first to teach them their duties, and then their rights. The company of Jesus undertook the first task, O'Connell fulfilled the second.

Note 42, p. lxxxvi.

From the time of Henry VIII. to Cromwell, and from Cromwell to the kings of the House of Hanover, everything had been done to degrade the Irish, and to enslave them by

"I hear you have got a number of religious gentlemen in your neighbourhood?"

"Indeed, we have, my lady."

"I suppose they do a great deal of good to all the people there?"

"Indeed, they do a great deal, my lady."

"I have no doubt you get a great deal of spiritual comfort from them?"

"*Oh! the devil a drop of that at all, please your ladyship.*"

Her ladyship meant religion, but poor Paddy thought she meant the whiskey. But the religion of Father Kenny and the teetotalism of Father Mathew were, as we shall see, made equally subservient to the objects of this holy brotherhood.—Ed.

* This fully exhibits the process by which the Jesuits train a people in sedition; they are taught in the first instance unbounded subjection to the Church; their duty to her sovereign power, as above all human authority and obligation, is first instilled into their consciences; then the political objects of their hierarchy are called their rights; and they are thus wielded under conscientious obligations, and organized for the purpose, whatever it may be. Thus they have a right in Ireland to the restitution of all the forfeited estates; a right to subjugate heretics; a right to cast off allegiance to a heretical government; a right not to execute heretical laws; thus all political, moral, social obligations are rendered subordinate and subservient to the Church. O'Connell was a scholar we see, and a mere tool of the Jesuits, and he worked on the people by the same influences that wrought on himself. The secret statutes of the bishops prove that they drilled the priests in their conferences "*to direct the consciences of the people committed to their charge.*"—Ed.

consigning them to ignorance. They* took advantage of their love of intoxicating liquors, and little by little they plunged them into that torpid state which makes life a kind of bestial sleep. They habituated the people, always Catholic at heart, to debaucheries, which the authorities had the art to place under the protection of some saint, whose name was popular in Ireland. Provided there remained in the Irish sufficient bodily strength to cultivate the earth, whose fruits and harvests were destined to supply the luxuries and pleasures of England, no one occupied themselves further with their welfare, their health, their families, or even with their existence.† They made them labourers without wages, or soldiers in India without the hope of advancement. Everything was combined against them, and this position, had it been prolonged, might have produced the most cruel results; but an unexampled concurrence of events obliged the British government to blush for its schemes of demoralization.

Note 43, p. xci.

The Fathers Kenny, Esmond, and Aylmer acknowledged in the sorrow of their hearts this intellectual brutalization; but they felt that the remedy was in their hands, and that the necessity for its application had become urgent. It was difficult all at once to correct so many and such deeply rooted evils. Hitherto religion itself had been proscribed: there were neither‡ temples or altars. The Irish knew not the

* This is a perfect exhibition of the trick of the Jesuits to throw the odium of their own sins on the government. It was their aim to keep the unfortunate people in ignorance and bondage, as it is to this day. There was not a single popish chapel in Ireland to which there was not one or more whiskey shops attached, and habits of idleness, superinduced by their holidays to bring them to their chapel, and of drunkenness by their whiskey shops adjacent to them, tended more to demoralize and degrade the poor unfortunate people than any other cause—their influence on their bodies was as debasing as their religion on their minds.—Ed.

† Too true! Had the Protestant Church of Ireland and the Protestant landlords laboured faithfully to enlighten the poor Roman Catholics, they had not been the slaves of Jesuits as they are at this day.—Ed.

‡ Altered in Ed. 1851, p. 74, to "there were few temples," etc.

pomp of festivals; they had never experienced the effect produced upon the masses, by those solemn processions in which God appears to mingle himself with man, to bless their labours, and to participate in their sorrows. They had hitherto been Catholics, secretly communicating only with the ancient Jesuits, or with the secular clergy, through a thousand dangers. The new disciples of the institute, profiting by the toleration which wiser policy now allowed to prevail, decided upon initiating the Irish people into the triumphant joys of the church. The *Fête Dieu* was celebrated at Clongowes in 1822, in the midst of an enormous crowd. External worship renewed in their hearts the ideas of the faith, and the necessity of internal reformation. Churches were built, missions were opened, religious associations created, and soon the children of these martyrs received from piety and education the necessary vigour to obtain peaceably their social regeneration.

To realize this project the Jesuits had to endure many painful labours, and to make great sacrifices. The* Jesuits accomplished the whole without allowing any obstacle to arrest them. They had often been accused of refusing to participate in any institution of which some one of their fathers had not been the first promoter, but fact in Ireland gives the lie to this imputation; in 1840, at the moment when by retreats or missions they were teaching the multitude

* It is not a little instructive, in the perusal of this history, to reflect on the processes by which the British government was endeavouring to discover the state of the Roman Catholic mind, and of the country, by examining the Romish bishops before the committees of Parliament, who were only blinding and deceiving them by protracted tissues of perjury. These bishops, with the aid of the Jesuits, or rather indeed as the tools and agents of the Jesuits, were carrying on at that moment, in the most efficient manner, every principle they were denying, every doctrine they were renouncing, every law they were abjuring, through the length and breadth of the country; so that while the government were utterly blinded by the oaths of the papal hierarchy, the Jesuits, of whose existence they were scarcely aware, were carrying on the organization of the whole Roman Catholic population.—Ed.

to celebrate the third secular feast of the foundation of the order of Jesus, it was by popularizing the work of another that they obtained a most brilliant success. The Capuchin, Theobald Mathew, had two years before laid the basis of his temperance society. The Jesuits took advantage of everything that could be useful in this voluntary renunciation of all inebriating liquors in such a country as Ireland. They became the zealous propagators of the Christian idea of Father Mathew;* by their care it spread with inconceivable rapidity. The temperance societies were the auxiliaries of the mission which the fathers established for themselves; but this did not divert them from their own peculiar object. In 1829 their numbers augmented with their ascendancy; they were the bishop's right hand,† they were the living models presented to the clergy by the prelates. The general of the company considered this to be a fitting opportunity‡ to detach Ireland from the province of England. He nominated a vice-provincial to govern the Jesuits: his choice fell upon Father Robert St. Leger.§ This separation promised to pro-

Note 44, p. xcvi.

* The movement of Father Mathew, which imposed so effectively on such multitudes, is here proved to have been made subservient to the objects of the Jesuits; whatever may have been the intention of the mover, they seized and turned it to their account. This was evident at the time to all those who were acquainted with Popery; and the temperance bands and processions, so perfectly organized in Dublin and various parts of the country, demonstrated that, under the pretence of temperance, a systematic drilling of the population was being carried on; and on many occasions the most offensive manifestations of paraded defiance were exhibited.—Ed.

† The book by a professor of their college, at Louvaine, Dens, was the book in which all the bishops drilled all their priests, in their conferences, to instil into the consciences of the whole Roman Catholic population; and it appears from Dr. Murray's own admission, in his evidence before the commissioners of education, in 1826, that when he was president of Maynooth he had Father Kenny some time as his assistant in the government of that college.—Ed.

‡ Omitted in Ed. 1851, p. 75, the paragraph "to detach Ireland from the province of England."

§ Omitted in Ed. 1851, these words, "this separation promised to produce fruitful results."

duce fruitful results.* In 1841 a college was erected in Dublin under the auspices of St. Francis Xavier; England took no alarm at this encrease of Catholic influence.

Anglicanism had been shaken by the return towards unity of a number of upright spirits in the three kingdoms, who had been taught by study to see the inefficiency of their official belief. A slow but progressive work was perceptible in English society. Every one felt that the Jesuits had the greatest share in this, while keeping strictly within the limits of the law. Government† saw nothing in all this but the natural consequences of liberty, and gave a salutary example of the respect due to those rights which it had itself proclaimed. Note 45, p. xcix.

By a strange reversal of all received opinions, it was in countries separated from the Catholic faith that the Jesuits prospered and increased. We have seen them, in Russia and in Great Britain, preserve the elements of reconstitution, and connect the future with the past. In Holland the same phenomenon was accomplished as in England; the republic of the united provinces made open war upon this order, whose influence over the population was apparent. Scarcely was it annihilated when old insults and even the memory of old distrust subsided. Protestants understood that it was not their province to pursue their conquered enemies; they left that care to Catholic courts, and to writers who wished to destroy all religion. Note 46 p. c.

These unexpected circumstances allowed the fathers of the company, who were dispersed throughout Holland, to con-

* Here it is demonstrated by this writer that the whole Repeal movement in Ireland was the work of the general of the Jesuits, and that O'Connell, the bishops, and the priests were their tools.—Ed.

† No form of expression could more emphatically exhibit the historian's view of the blindness and credulity of the British government; it is as much as to say, while all this was going forward, which was enough to awaken any men who were not asleep or dead, the government could see nothing in it but the natural consequences of liberty. The Roman Catholic countries, who knew the Jesuits, denounced the order; but such was the blindness of the British government, that they prospered and encreased under its protection.—Ed.

Note 47, p. ciii. tinue the work to which they had devoted themselves. Their chief had placed them as sentinels at a dangerous outpost (*en sentinelles perdues*) in the midst of the enemies of the Church, and no one thought of relieving them; they remained there under the direction of Father Thomassen. He was an aged man. Adam Beekers came from Amsterdam to comfort and assist him in the labours of the apostolate. As soon as it became possible to attach themselves by new vows to the company, Beekers, Henri Grœssen, Luyton, and Verbek took advantage of the privilege. The Jesuits of Nimèque and Culembourg followed their example; but at Culembourg, Father Huberti, who had been enriched by an inheritance of some property, consecrated his fortune to the advancement of that mission. Father Arnold Luyton developed the budding association, and the Apostolic Inter-Nuncio Ciamberlani seconded his projects so earnestly, that in 1818 it was possible to found a small seminary in that town. The Pope Leo XII. had desired to recover for the Jesuits all the posts occupied by them before the suppression: they returned therefore to the Hague.

About the same time,* the fathers of the faith, whose origin we have just briefly sketched, had been living in Belgium since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their most ardent aspiration was to be incorporated into the institute of St. Ignatius. The military events of 1814 were tending towards the decision of a very grave question:—the fall of the empire of Napoleon was imminent. The fathers of the faith, under the direction of Benson and Le Blanc, addressed themselves to Fonteyne, then superior of the Jesuits in Holland; they were admitted into the company, but were obliged to go through a noviciate; and, in the overturning of all the kingdoms, the members of the society of Jesus, like many monarchs, were left with no other aliment than hope. Prince Maurice de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, did not long leave them

* "About the same time" is omitted in p. 70, Ed. 1851.

in this state of uncertainty. This bishop, whose name is so often heard in the annals of this period, was a witty courtier, and an accomplished orator, a man of God, and also a man of the world, always ready to assist the unfortunate, or to perform any deed of courage and magnanimity, that could serve as a noble example to his fellow men. Napoleon had conceived a strong liking for him. He valued in him his high birth, and his distinguished virtues, his piety, and his cheerfulness. Maurice de Broglie shewed himself full of gratitude and enthusiasm for the emperor. But from the moment when Bonaparte, blinded by ambition or anger, declared himself the persecutor of the sovereign Pontiff, the conscience of the Bishop of Ghent raised him above all human attachments. In the council of Paris, in the dungeons of Vincennes, and in the Isle of St. Marguerite, the Prince de Broglie never shrunk from the fulfilment of any of his duties; he had only just been released from a state prison, when the Jesuits solicited his help and patronage; this he promptly accorded to them. The diocese of Ghent was opened at their request, and from that day there was formed, between the prelate and the disciples of St. Ignatius, an alliance cemented by virtue, which nothing on earth could ever dissolve.

A noviciate was at once decided upon; the Marchioness of Rhodes supplied the funds for this first establishment; the Comte de Thiennes placed his chateau of Rumbeck at the disposal of the society: then the exercises commenced. After the interval of a few months, Belgium became the theatre of a great and decisive battle. Europe awaited Napoleon at Waterloo. His armies approached from Courtray and from Roulers. Father Fonteyne contemplated retreating before them, the noise of camps not being suited to the abstraction and retirement required of the novices. Fonteyne placed them in a country-house at Distelberg, offered to him by Messrs. Gobert. Events hurried on with such precipitation that, in the course of a few days afterwards, there remained

in Belgium the wreck of an army, and a new throne. William Frederick of Nassau, the son of the last Stadtholder of Holland, was destined to occupy it. This prince, whose good qualities as well as his faults will be severely judged by history, for he caused both to be equally injurious, had long resided as an obscure exile in England. Driven by the French revolution from his hereditary states; called by the victorious party to reign over two nations, whose manners and religion had no point of resemblance, William did not understand how to hold the balance between his predilections and his duties. He was made by treaty a legitimate king. His ambition made him a revolutionist. The France of the Bourbons drove from her bosom the judges and executioners of Louis XVI.; she proscribed some of the minor leaders of the hundred days, who had overturned even William's own throne. William welcomed into his palace these regicides and conspirators; his dream was to secure the crown of St. Louis for his son by a Protestant conspiracy. In a Catholic country he endeavoured to seduce the people from their faith, and to render the clergy odious. Differences speedily arose between the Belgians faithful to the Roman Church, and their new monarch. King and people interpreted, each in his own way, the rights acquired, the promises made, and laws accepted. This struggle, begun even during the fêtes of his coronation, ought to have brought William to reflection. Led by the counsels of Protestant fanatics, or intoxicated by the interested flatteries of the enemies of all religion, the king of the Low Countries proved himself unequal to the difficulties of the position. He had to satisfy two rival nations, which chance had united under the same sceptre; the Dutch were stedfastly resolved never to become Belgians. In the early part of his reign, from 1814 to 1815, he had proclaimed liberty and abolished several flagrant monopolies; but he soon endeavoured to overturn with one hand that which he had established with the other. The Jesuits took no part in any

of these debates, whether religious or political, with regard to the interpretation of the fundamental laws.

Suddenly, on the 3rd of January, 1816, William commanded the fathers of Distelberg to dissolve their community immediately. To this injunction the Jesuits answered, "One word from the bishop will be sufficient to disperse us. If the prelate does not pronounce that word, there will be little difficulty by force of arms to expel the peaceful inhabitants of this house." Father Vanderbiest,* who after the death of Fonteyne had been named superior, communicated to the Abbé Lesurre, vicar-general of Ghent, the answer that he had made. Maurice de Broglie was absent. He wrote, saying that it was the duty of a captain never to abandon, without defence, his faithful soldiers; that therefore he would not suffer the Jesuits to be exposed to the darts of their enemies, but that they should pierce him through before the Jesuits should be touched: then he added, "I wish all the doors in my palace to be opened to them, in order that as large a number as it can contain may retire there." The prelate was not satisfied with this declaration, but came himself to Distelberg to encourage the Jesuits, and confirm them in their resolution. William heard of this resistance, and fearing that the report of its success might injure his ulterior plans, determined to put it down. Troops were marched against the noviciate; the Jesuits dispersed as they approached, and took refuge in the episcopal palace. The first ferment of opposition drew down upon the head of the Prince de Broglie the stubborn rage of William. The Bishop of Ghent, who, since the month of October, 1814, had foreseen these difficulties, had submitted them to the Congress of Vienna the 28th of July, 1815; the other heads of dioceses protested against it in a letter addressed to the king. On the 2nd of August Maurice de Broglie addressed a pastoral admonition

* In Ed. 1851, p. 78, instead of "Father Vanderbiest," it is "Father Le Blanc.'

to his flock.* In this document, which proclaims in every line the courage to meet, and the necessity to avert, the dangers which threatened the Church of Belgium, the pontiff inveighed with great power against the new constitution: it was in his eyes inadmissible by Catholics, and he protested against it. The bishops had said that this legislative compact "*was a sinister omen for the future;*" Maurice de Broglie demonstrated it. The foreigners who had entirely gained the confidence of William of Nassau had little difficulty in irritating him against this factious prelate, whom his episcopal colleagues, and Pius VII. himself, congratulated on his zeal. The arrest of the Bishop of Ghent as a preventive step was decided upon. He took refuge in France with the rector of the noviciate of the Jesuits. Advantage has been taken of that fact to declare that the Jesuits alone ought to be held responsible for the resistance of the prince. The prince was but a mortal adversary: the order of Jesus has perpetual vitality, and therefore the enemies of the Catholic Church sought to make it guilty for the personal intrepidity of Maurice de Broglie. The latter entertained no hostile feelings towards the government; but his struggles and his sufferings for the faith had made him popular. But above all other things, he defended with the utmost inflexibility the rights of conscience. The Belgians saw in him a martyr. William and his revolutionary courtiers represented him as a fanatic,—a mere tool in the hands of the Jesuits.

"Legal oppression," says M. de Gerlache,† "is perhaps the worst of all tyranny, because in it fraud is added to violence." William of Nassau, when he ascended the throne, had begun by paying court to the clergy; he had even sought to conciliate the esteem and goodwill of the children of Loyola. In 1817, he was carried away by his Protestant

* *History of the Kingdom of the Pay Bas.* By M. de Gerlache, first president of the *Cour de Cassation.* Vol. i., p. 315.

† *Ibid.*, p. 341.

zeal, and plunged into the waves of that religious reaction in which the foam of party spirit sought to overwhelm his dreams of pride. As yet nothing could be brought against the Jesuits but pure calumnies, and these they did not spare. The Bishop of Ghent was an excellent victim to sacrifice, and he was the more severely dealt with in the hope that his punishment might terrify the other prelates. The Court of Brussels, by an act of the 9th of October, 1817, "condemned Maurice de Broglie, then a fugitive, or in concealment, to perpetual banishment, and to pay the costs of the suit." This judicial drama, in which the Jesuits were the real defendants, although they did not appear before the jury where the decree was levelled against them, and on account of them could not end there.

Two culprits, convicted of robbery and burglary, sentenced to the pillory and to hard labour for life, were at that time in prison at Ghent. The judgment given against the prince-bishop ought, in accordance with the terms of the sentence, "to be advertised on a pole placed in the great public square," but the law of the country was violated to confer the right of violating the decencies of social life; instead of this, the venerated name of the prelate was fastened upon the pillory between these two thieves. This was the golden age of journalism. Conscience maintained its right even over party spirit. The *Belgian Observer*, a newspaper hostile to the Roman faith, could not refrain from shewing its indignation,* while this insult was accepted as an honour by all true

* The *Belgian Observer* thus expresses itself in the fourteenth volume of its collection, p. 181 :—

"He would have been universally considered a madman, or perhaps been persecuted as a villain, who, after the 18th of Brumaire, or at the epoch of the Concordat, but above all in 1814, or at the beginning of 1815, would have believed it possible that before 1818, under a Protestant prince and by a secular tribunal, a bishop would be condemned in Belgium to an infamous and disgraceful punishment for having subscribed, in common with all his co-ordinates, and made public, a doctrinal opinion as to the lawfulness or

Catholics. It was not consistent with the character of the King himself,—a worthy descendant of William "the Silent," —to compromise his authority by excesses such as these;* but his counsellors succeeded in persuading him that ever since the time of Philip II. of Spain the Jesuits had been the inveterate enemies of his family; and as the prince-bishop supported them with all his power, upon him the first ebullitions of his anger fell.

On the 24th of February, 1818, he attacked the disciples of the institute. Having taken refuge in the episcopal palace, they lived in the utmost retirement: a troop of soldiers, headed by the Procûreur du Roi, invaded the palace; they examined the books and papers, and placed seals on the furniture, and arrested the Abbé Lesurre; then, arriving at last at the principal design of all these strict searchings, they gave them to understand that the same course would be pursued towards them throughout the whole of the kingdom.

unlawfulness of an oath; for having written two letters to the holy father relative to the public prayers which the prince might command to be used; received a response conformable to the wishes of the government, and by giving immediate publicity to the said response, achieved the double end of tranquillizing all refractory spirits, and justifying the demand of the government and the solemn public act by which he had yielded obedience to it.

"Still less would it have been believed that without necessity, without utility,—against all right and reason,—the sentence would have been carried out in such a manner as made it as ignominious as it could be towards the accused, an outrage to the religion of which he was the minister, and still more insulting to the nation which had remained faithful to the creed of its forefathers."

"This public insult to Catholicism," says M. de Gerlache, in p. 345 of the first volume of his history of the kingdom of the Netherlands, "this profanation of a sacred and venerable character, only excited a general sentiment of indignation and disgust at its author. As for the Bishop of Ghent, he ought to consider himself too highly honoured by the insult, which recalled involuntarily to every one's remembrance the sufferings of his Divine Master. We have no occasion to mention the comparison instituted of his persecutors."

* After "excesses," in Ed. 1851, p. 81, is added, "he possessed both sense and heart, but they had," etc.

The company did not consider itself sufficiently strong to brave the tempest. Its beginning was difficult: it had every kind of obstacle to encounter. It postponed the struggle: and with a prudence which has been blamed by its friends who did not sufficiently penetrate its motives, it submitted to the exile to which despotism had condemned it. Switzerland and the Netherlands formed at that time one province: it was towards these Catholic cantons* that they conducted the novices. To pay the travelling charges and support these exiles in a foreign land, was not an easy matter. Madame de Gizighen took upon herself this care; she only made one condition, that is to say, that if brighter days should ever shine upon Belgium, these young men should be bound to return to their country, and there carry on the mission which, as Jesuits, it was the hope of their vocation to fulfil. The general of the order accepted the contract on these conditions. Some of the children of Loyola, however, still remained in the kingdom. Father Lemaistre was their director; but on considering the violent and open struggle which subsisted between the two powers, a struggle which promised inevitably to terminate in a revolution, owing to the obstinacy of the king and the perseverance of the people, the Jesuits decided upon transferring their noviciate elsewhere; there was not a noviciate in Belgium during a space of thirteen years.

There only remained there a small number of the professed brothers enrolled under the banner of the Church: they fought under Lemaistre† in the character of volunteers; their arms were—prayer, study, resignation, and the exercise of charity.

* After "Catholic cantons," in p. 81, Ed. 1851, it is altered to "that they conducted the majority of the young Jesuits, some of the eldest conducted by Father Corneille. Van Eversbroocke found a refuge in Hildesheim in Hanover with old Father Lusken, who exercised there the function of president of seminaries."

† After "Lemaistre," is added in Ed. 1851, p. 82, "and Bruson, in the character," etc.

Belgium scarcely dared to resist the sovereign, who did his utmost to eclipse his princely qualities by the most incomprehensible vagaries. Belgium had Catholic instincts; William endeavoured to crush them all one after another. Every utterance of freedom was but a new provocation to despotism. The Jesuits, though few in number, exercised a strong influence over the masses; their words, their advice, their looks,—even their very silence, all became matters of suspicion and, consequently, of incrimination. The Dutch agents, on whom William had conferred public appointments, the refugees* from all countries to whom he granted a most impolitic hospitality, never ceased to represent the disciples of Loyola as the enemies of his government. They were accused of reigning over France under the *fleurs de lys* mantle of the Bourbons. William of Nassau did not choose to have it said that the company held another kingdom also in its hands. It had opened retreats where the secular priests and laymen mingled their prayers and trained themselves in the practice of every Christian virtue. In 1824 the king desired the bishops to prohibit these spiritual exercises; the religious warfare was suppressed. The Belgians had bowed their necks to the yoke, and William's visitors persuaded him the time was now come to put an

* What is this but a proof of the necessity of the bull for the suppression of the Jesuits by Ganganelli. The refugees from all countries could only report the opinions of all countries. Ganganelli says, "So far from every precaution being sufficient to appease the clamour and complaints against the society, on the contrary, *in almost every part of the universe* very sad disputes were seen to rise against its doctrines."

"Accusations abroad became every day more frequent, principally respecting their too great avidity for terrestrial possessions." And the cardinal ambassador of France, in transmitting a confirmation of this bull to the minister of foreign affairs, and commenting on the bull, says, "The Pope believed that a religious order, proscribed from the most Catholic states, strongly suspected of having both formerly and recently entered into criminal plots, addicted, in order to render themselves more powerful and formidable, to commerce, stock-jobbings and politics, could produce only fruits of dissension and discord," etc. Quinet, Lect. 2, *On Jesuits*.—Ed.

end to all Catholic teaching.* In less than a year after, the college of Liége, which had been offered to the Jesuits by M. de Stas, was closed at the very moment when the king was about to issue an order for that purpose; the little seminary at Culembourg was destined to the same fate, when the archpriests of Amsterdam and Utrecht, united with the vicars apostolic of Holland, resolved that they would not yield except to violence.

William had at length succeeded in tiring out even Catholic opposition, and reigned in peace. This species of apathy, this sentiment of indifference, which at some period is frequently found to pervade the spirit of even the most energetic, was now apparent. The king, as well as his two confidants, Gaubau and Van Maaven, believed that the moment had arrived to subjugate Belgium to the will of Holland, and to crush the church of Rome under the yoke of Protestantism.

The creation of a college of philosophy at Louvaine, the vexatious measures, and the fetters imposed upon the liberty of instruction, and the prescriptive rights† of parents, awakened in their hearts a hope which their recent afflictions had almost banished. Note 48, p. cviii.

The brothers‡ of the Christian doctrine diffused among the

* After "Catholic teaching," in Ed. 1851, it is *altered* to, "In less than a year afterwards the college of Beauregard at Leige, of which M. de Stas was the director, having called some professed Jesuits to his assistance, closed it at the moment when the king was about to issue an order to that effect; the little seminary," etc.

† This is the very same pretext with which the priests cover the suppression of the Scriptures in Irish education; they veil their despotism over the unfortunate parents and children by pretending that respect is to be paid to the rights of parents.—Ed.

‡ This is only another form of the Jesuits. When it is said they taught them to be sober, pious, active and submissive, this is in a sense true: they do not, avowedly, teach sedition; they teach a pious, devout, unconditional submission to the Church, and when they have them drilled into perfect staunch submission to the Church of Rome, they have them then ready, as occasion may offer, to be drilled as foes to whomsover or whatsoever may oppose her.—Ed.

children of the poor and among the young workmen instructions appropriate to their need; they taught them to be sober, pious, active and submissive; they made them obedient sons, in order that hereafter they might become good citizens. These instructors of the poor were accused of spreading ultramontanism throughout Belgium, and of plotting a revolution. In the eyes of the court of William they were nothing else than Jesuits in disguise.* The Jesuits were the constant terror of the king, who made common cause with the liberals of all sects to secure the triumph of his own heretical opinions. He shut up the schools belonging to these brothers, the colleges of the company having already suffered the same fate.

This act of royal treachery, which all the anti-Catholic journals of France and the Netherlands applauded with shouts of triumph, gave a new vigour to the opposition it met with from the Parliament and from all the Christian families in the nation. Laws were enacted to bar the future to any youth who should study elsewhere than in the schools salaried by the government. Ambition and all private interests gave way before the necessity of saving the faith and good morals. William was obstinate, and the people at last began to murmur. At that time there raged in France such a virulent war against the Jesuits, that the Belgians believed it might be practicable to sacrifice their fellow-countrymen, the children of Loyola, to the prejudices of ministers and to the necessity of maintaining peace, and the alliance signed between the Constitutionalists and the Catholics was by no means calculated to deter the king from his attack upon the faith. They declared the Jesuits to be dangerous, while at the same time they avowed that they had no belief in the calumnies which the liberal press and the government of the Netherlands heaped upon them. This betrayal of the principle of truth brought no advantage to the opposing coalition.

* *Histoire du Royaume des Pays Bas.* Par M. de Gerlache. p. 377.

M. de Gerlache himself, who had attempted a similar kind of tactics in his discourses, had speedy cause of repentance.*

William had hoped that he would have given strength and stability to his government by trying to obtain for himself the same kind of popularity which the revolutionists of France had earned so cheaply. Like them, and along with them, he traded upon the name of the disciples of St. Ignatius, to whom he affected to attribute every mischief and disaster that had taken place in the kingdom. The Belgians, however, were not so credulous as the partizans of the charter of Louis XVIII. In the month of November, 1827, a writer, then celebrated by his anti-Catholic works, M. de Potter, deprived the Protestant king of this weapon of Jesuitry. "'Those accursed Jesuits,' exclaimed the head of the constitutional opposition in the Netherlands,† 'what evils have they not occasioned! For, in order to defend us against them, we have been like the horse in the fable, saddled, bridled, and mounted. It was so convenient to be able to answer a Frenchman, who, after the sojourn of fifteen days at Brussels, might say, "What! have you not here trial by jury?" "No; but then we have no Jesuits." "What! no liberty of the press?" "No; but we have no Jesuits." "What! no ministerial responsibility? no independent judicature? an overwhelming and unpopular system of taxation, a weak, limping administration?" etc., etc. All that is very true; but there are no Jesuits."' Now, I would fain ask

Note 49, p. cxiv.

* We read in vol. ii., p. 80, of the first edition of the *History of the Kingdom of the Netherlands*, by this magistrate: "The reader must again call to mind the fact that this *(this* alludes to M. de Gerlache's own essay) was written in 1825; that for the love of peace we wished to make every possible concession to the government (which we supposed in a certain degree sincere in its apprehensions with regard to the Jesuits) in order to avert great calamities; we nevertheless committed a serious mistake, of which our adversaries well knew how to take advantage. By yielding this principle, we weakened instead of strengthening our cause.

† *Lettre au Courrier des Pays Bas.* Par M. de Potter.

our neighbours, Can we help all this? The moment we meddle with our own affairs, there is a cry, 'Beware of the Jesuits!' and thus we are deprived of every common right. Tell me, gentlemen, when a man is called a Jesuit, does it follow that he must be imprisoned, judged, tortured, and condemned? do all his actions become crimes, and his words absurdities?" This was the language of sound reason. It was punished by William, but understood by the people. The fathers of the institute found themselves against their will made the lever of the opposition; they served as a pretext to the king for refusing even the most equitable concessions, and they found themselves exiled as a society, and obliged to live as isolated individuals: their name was made a war-cry; and yet in seeking most deeply into the causes, none of the events which so rapidly followed could be traced to their instigation. The head of the company wrote to them these significant words, "For God's sake, do not interfere in politics."* Such was the counsel which came from the Gésú,

Note 50, p. cxx.

* Let the reader look back to pages 82—85, and he will appreciate the sincerity of this advice. If it were really given as here stated, the meaning and intention of it was, *For God's sake, work politically as hard as you can.* Wherever they volunteer the profession of any apparent good, it is merely a cloak to cover the evil exactly opposite. Look at the facts stated in the note (p. 83), to which may be added, that in the year 1830, when the whole body of the Romish bishops addressed a pastoral to the priests and people, expressing the utmost gratitude for the bill of 1829, and expressing their own intention to retire from all political agitation, the very next year they set to work with more activity than ever; made Dens the conference-book for the priests;—diffused the instruction through the population of the laws of their Church against heretics—published, and thereby put in force, their canon laws, including all those which they had renounced on oath before the committees of parliament and the commissioners of education—published their law for the restitution of all the forfeited estates,—for enforcing complete submission to the temporal power of the Pope,—for the establishment by law of all the ultramontane principles which they had professed on oath to deny, —for the extirpation of heretics out of their dioceses,—and for the pardon of all crimes, how atrocious soever that could be committed, by the power of papal absolution: this was the fulfilment of their pastoral, promising to

and was so strictly obeyed,* that only two Jesuits ventured to use their electoral rights, and that on but one occasion. The general of the order and Van de Veld, Bishop of Ghent, prohibited the exercise of a right which might furnish arms to the Dutch ministry. William banished the fathers from his dominions; the Belgians were determined to recall them. Everything had long been ripening for a revolution, and it burst forth in the month of September, 1830.

The revolution was made in the name of the Catholics and the Jesuits. Its cause was upheld by all those who, having taken part at Paris in the former revolution under another banner and with very different projects, yet did not fear to sing a pæan for the victory won by the Belgians. As long as William of Nassau was powerful enough to drive away the Jesuits and to weaken Catholicism, he was set up by liberal inconsistency as the type and example of a tolerant, philosophical, and enlightened monarch. The adversaries of the Jesuits, at least, owed him some sympathy and favour in his fall. Now, he was nothing more than a legitimate prince, who had been foiled in his attempt to proscribe the faith of his subjects. His panegyrists of 1825 changed into scoffers, and loaded him with insults. The Belgian revolution was a great and holy thing, because it sheltered itself under that of July, of which the origin and results were so diametrically opposite. Curses against the Jesuits were resounding through France at the same moment in which they were hailed in Belgium as the martyrs of religious liberty and the guardians of families. William had driven them from the Netherlands; but scarcely had a new government been established, when

retire from all political agitation, and exhorting their flocks to imitate their example. Such is the value of, "*for God's sake, do not interfere in politics.*" We see the fidelity with which they adhered to the advice in this history itself, and in the fact of the Belgian revolution.—ED.

* After "strictly obeyed," note 2, in Ed. 1851, p. 85, it is altered and omitted, "Only once in 1834, in the midst of patriotic enthusiasm, two fathers made use of their electoral rights at Ghent. William banished," etc., etc.

the fathers again resumed their labours. The blow given to the education of youth, by the suppression of the order of Jesus, had extended far and wide. The bitter fruits of this measure were reaped in the despair of many a domestic circle, and from every part of Europe independent voices were raised to recall the company. The fathers formerly known amongst them, had universally acquired the confidence of the public; but they were gradually becoming extinct, and the Catholics never ceased to turn their imploring eyes towards the Holy See, entreating for the resuscitation of the institute. In Switzerland, the cantons attached to the union had never consented to be separated from their masters in the faith. Vacquerie, Muller, Joseph de Diesbach, and the Count Sinéo della Torre, laboured to give new life to the society. The council of Soleure, deeply interested in the question, wrote thus to Father Vacquerie:* "The government of Soleure desire so ardently the re-establishment of this admirable order, that it has only waited for your concurrence to address directly the holy father, with whom a correspondence has already been decided for some time through the medium of the Apostolic Nuncio, who will second with ardent zeal the designs of our government; and as it is certain that the Pope will without any difficulty yield to our petitions, they cannot fail to be speedily carried into effect if the beloved and reverend father-general will lend us his kind assistance."

In the Valais there was the same zeal on the part of the people, and the same disinterested devotion on the part of the Jesuits. On the 31st of July, 1810, the fathers Godinot, Drach, Rudolph and Standinger, affiliated themselves; the company, under the direction of Joseph Senéo della Forre, renouncing all earthly riches and grandeur to follow a career of humiliation and labour. They devoted themselves to the education of youth in the college of the capital town of the canton. De Valais, then annexed to the empire, formed the

* After "Father Vacquerie" in Ed. 1851, p. 86, is added, "in 1805."

department of the Simplon. Bonaparte being at war with the sovereign Pontiff, his prefects and his universities declared open hostilities against the Jesuits. The state did not recognize them under that character; but except in official acts no one ventured to ignore it. They asked neither assistance nor payment from the administration. Two years rolled on in a state of abandonment, which was rather a benefit than an affliction to these children of Loyola. They had taken the vow of poverty; the indigence to which they were reduced had no terrors for them; however, the grand-master of the imperial university was shocked at the picture drawn by Nompere de Champagny, the rector of the Academy of Lyons, of the grievous destitution and exemplary virtue of the Jesuits; and he addressed the following letter to the prefect:— Note 51, p. cxxii.

"The painful position of the principals and tutors of the colleges in the department of the Simplon has awakened my most lively interest; the delay which they have experienced in the payment of their salaries can only be temporary. I will endeavour by every means in my power to remedy this grievance; the subject will occupy the council of the university during one of its earliest sittings, and as soon as His Majesty shall have decided upon the propositions which will be laid before him, I will hasten to the execution of his decision. I entreat of you, M. le Prefect, to encourage in every way, by your help and approbation, these learned men, to whom the instruction of the colleges of the Valais has been confided. The proofs of devotion which they have exhibited under these difficult circumstances shall not be forgotten; it is a temporary sacrifice which it will be my happiness to recompense hereafter."

This letter from Fontanes was a great encouragement to the Jesuits; on the 2nd of December, 1812, Champagny wrote in these terms to Father Sinéo;—

"Monsieur le Principal; I know your zeal, your devotion, and the pious disinterestedness with which you have hitherto

fulfilled your functions, and you are about again to resume the career of eminent usefulness in which you are engaged. Your labours will not be thrown away. The university has already heard of your worth, and will not confine itself within the limits of mere barren admiration. But what more precious recompense can be offered to you than that which you find in your own heart! When, as in your case, the heart is fixed on the things of eternity, all that this world contains appears of little value; you will give in the university, an example which will confer upon it lasting honour, and which will be cited with pride by all its present and future members. As for myself, M. le Principal, having the advantage of being personally acquainted with you, I shall, perhaps, be less surprised than strangers by your merits, but more particularly devoted to your interests, which you yourself only are so nobly used to sacrifice."

Such were the earliest connections between the university of France and the company of Jesus. The university, having Fontanes at its head, protected against official vexations, these few pious monks who were not to be terrified by poverty any more than by persecution. Fontanes and Champagny honoured them with their esteem; but the Count de Rambuteau, the prefect of the Simplon, was anxious to expel them. But events proved stronger than even the will of the Emperor. In 1814 the little college of Sion became the cradle of the province of High Germany. The companions of Father Sinéo, who had been proved by long sufferings, devoted themselves to the Valais, and the Valais were deeply grateful to them. Baron de Stockalper, one of the highest magistrates of the canton, proposed to restore to the Jesuits their old college at Brig, which had been converted into a fortress by the French; the proposition was enthusiastically received; the enthusiasm spread largely among the Catholics. Peter Tobias Yenni, bishop of Lausanne, turned his thoughts towards the company; he was about to introduce it into Fribourg, when he

received a letter from Goeldlin de Tieffenau, vicar apostolic, which confirmed his intentions. Tieffenau's mandate ran:—

"I am entirely convinced, and my opinion is founded upon experience, that there cannot be a more efficacious remedy propounded for the prevailing evils of this age than the recall of the company of Jesus into our cantons, now newly established by our holy father Pius VII."* This society will once more supply defenders of the ecclesiastical power, and instructors for Christian youth. It would regulate learning, and cause piety and continence to flourish amongst the clergy, and will form a rampart between the people and the corruptions of the age. As to myself, I desire most ardently to have the Jesuits brought into the diocese confided to my care; and I wish you with my heart to secure the same blessing for yours." Canisius had evangelized Switzerland: his tomb at Fribourg was the object of general veneration, and it was on the strength of this remembrance that the Catholics appealed to the Jesuits; the Helvetic prelate claimed them as indispensable coadjutors.

Baron D'Aregger, the chief magistrate of Soleure, followed up the suggestions of the clergy, and formed a scheme of inviting the company into that town. In the month of June, 1816, the grand council met, and they decreed that the company was for ever excluded from entering the canton. This check, which was the result of certain personal prejudices, and local rivalries, and of the terrors so skilfully kept alive in the minds of the people by the adversaries of the institute, did not serve to quench the zeal of Fribourg. Father

* This is all very true; the Jesuits are the right arm of the Papal power; their greatest object, as appears in all this history, is to gain the education of the youth. They are so thoroughly trained to subjugate, or powerfully influence the plastic mind of youth, that they depend with confidence on their success, when they can command education; and it is no wonder that such masters are highly prized by parents who wish their children to be educated in Popery, and that such able defenders are courted and valued by bishops of Rome who feel their power or their Church in danger.—Ed.

Corneille Van Everbroeck offered the exiles from Belgium an asylum at Hildesheim; others devoted themselves to preaching or teaching. This activity on their part, the effects of which were soon made manifest, became a perpetual subject of disquiet to the heretics and radicals. They dreaded the ascendancy which the fathers knew so well how to acquire over the common people. They knew well that such influence must eventually defeat those designs which they now hardly sought to conceal. The Federal decree of 1815 was irksome to them: they endeavoured to foment discontent by irritating the people, in order that hereafter they might establish in Helvetia the reign, of what they called liberty; a liberty of which they were to be the sole apostles and judges, and of which they alone would enjoy the benefits. In order the better to disguise their schemes, they pursued a course which has since been followed by the most skilful enemies of the institute.

Note 52, p. cxxii.

The ancient society of Jesus had fallen amid the plaudits of those who were the declared enemies of Catholicism; each had contributed his efforts to promote its destruction. It no longer existed. The Swiss radicals now took occasion to regret it: they loaded it with praise and benediction: it alone had had the gift of rendering the art of teaching agreable: it alone was the mother of martyrs, apostles, orators, poets and sages. They crowned their victim with flowers, when they thought it was impossible that it should rise from under the stroke of their axe. Then, by a transition of which some writers availed themselves more or less happily, the Swiss radicals declared that the new order of Jesus had nothing in common with the old one: that modern Jesuits were but degenerate children of St. Ignatius: that they did not possess the secret of the constitution: that they were ignorant of the method of teaching, and that they denied the principles which had raised the early Jesuits to so high a reputation. Thus they were condemned as either impotent or mischievous. De Rivaz, high bailiff *(grand bailli)* of the Valaisian republic,

brought all these mingled charges against them, on the 4th of May, 1818. He spoke in the name of the state, and his declaration had the force of law.

About the same time Balthasor de Müller proposed to the grand council of Fribourg to recall the fathers into that canton; sixty-nine votes against forty-two carried the proposition, which the magistrate, Techtermann, undertook to carry into effect.

We have seen in Italy and in Germany how nobly the Jesuits abandoned the dignities with which they had been invested in order to die in the bosom of their resuscitated society. Antoine Hausherr, Joseph de Schaller and Laurent Doller, three veterans belonging to the company, hastened to imitate this example of filial devotion. In 1821 Louis Foites reunited Switzerland; and the missions in Holland, Belgium and Saxony as a vice-province, of which Father Godinot was created the head.

While the Catholic cantons were making an alliance with the Jesuits, and while Father Jean de Roothaan was travelling through the Valais, spreading all around the fruits of salvation, a storm was gathering at Fribourg over the head of the disciples of Loyola.

For more than twenty years the primary instruction of the young had been in the hands of the Cordeliers; at the head of this school was Father Gregory Girard. A new method of teaching had been introduced under his auspices; the Lancasterian system of mutual teaching and the plans of Pestalozzi combined and modified with skilful ingenuity. Father Girard's system was quite new, and like all other novelties, it was subjected to the ordeal of discussion: it had its partizans and its opponents. The Jesuits had not yet penetrated into Fribourg; and already the bishop of Lausanne, a very competent judge in matters of education, had pronounced against the adopted system. He had even asked the grand council to interdict its use. When the college was

placed in the hands of the institute in conformity with the directions of the bishop, the fathers did not adopt the principles of Girard; and this fact was seized upon as a pretext to accuse them of having imposed upon the bishop the condemnation of the Cordelier. His friends were aroused at this, and all parties were warmly excited; at that period anything or everything served as an occasion of tumult. During the nights of the 9th and 10th of March, 1823, the college was beset riotously. Father Girard had never any other aim than to be useful to the children in his own sphere of duty; but his name now served as a rallying cry against the Jesuits; they threatened them with death, and insulted them for their silence. This outbreak was only the first essay of the radical forces, and it was soon quelled by the indifference of the public. Father Girard had, without desiring it, auxiliaries who compromised his cause. On the 26th of May, the Bishop of Lausanne published the reasons for his interdiction, and thereby justified the Jesuits. "The haste with which the liberal and anti-Catholic newspapers of Switzerland have defended this system; and their declamations against the reverend Jesuit fathers, who were absolutely strangers to the determination which we have made, must suffice to open the eyes of all faithful people."

The grand council participated in the opinion of the prelate, and the system of Father Girard was suppressed. Twenty years later the French Academy, by its organ, M. Villemain, solemnly crowned with its approbation the work of M. Cordelier. But in this homage rendered to a Franciscan monk, by those who ordained a last posthumous triumph to Voltaire, there was, perhaps, more of sarcastic malevolence towards the Jesuits, than of justice in favour of their pretended rival.

This insurrection, which ignorance organized to insure the promotion of learning, found no response: the Jesuits were even less affected by it than the magistrates, for at that time

an idea, productive of great results, was germinating in their minds. William of Nassau drove beyond the frontiers of his kingdom the fathers who spread instruction in Belgium and in Holland; the canton of Fribourg prepared to receive these outcasts of Lutheran fanaticism. In 1824 Tobie de Gottrau, Charles de Gottrau, Philippe d'Odit, Nicholas de Buman, Hubert de Boccard, Pierre de Gendre, and Theodore de Diesbach conceived the idea of founding a school at Fribourg. It met with universal approbation: the edifice was begun; it was finished, and became in the hands of the Jesuits one of the most beautiful establishments in Europe. "There were erected at the same period," wrote the celebrated Baron de Haller, "a school at Fribourg, and a house of correction at Geneva. These are two remarkable edifices; but the people of Fribourg shewed the greater wisdom. They founded an establishment to prevent crime: the people of Geneva built one to punish it when it had been already committed."*

* Had Baron de Haller been really informed as to history and fact in this instance, he would never have instituted such a contrast between these edifices: he might more truly have stated that one establishment was erected to *promote crime*, and the other to punish it. The practical comment on the history of the Jesuits by the Rev. E. Grinfield gives a more just view of the case. He says at the close of his seventh chapter: "We cannot conclude this chapter without again remarking the uniform miseries and disasters which the Jesuits have entailed on every country which has encouraged their missions. Such a general result must be the effect of an instrumental cause. There must be some radical evil in a system which thus raises up against itself its own pupils, and which so frequently compels even Popish governments to demand its exile.

"When we behold France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Naples, Sicily, above all, Ireland, torn with civil and religious quarrels and dissensions; and when we know that the Jesuits have been more especially active and busy in these various countries, we are led by irresistible logic to identify them with the miseries and misfortunes of nations. Go where they may they are the harbingers of evil. They destroy the conscience by their confessions; they sap morality by their casuistry; they reduce religion to empty form and ceremony: where it is practicable, they keep the people in ignorance; where it is not practicable, they educate them in error. In

The small number of Jesuits which Switzerland could command rendered the labour of teaching and apostleship painfully laborious, and even sometimes mortal; the fathers had in fact not only to watch over the education of the young, but at the same time to fulfil all other sacerdotal functions; to be at once tutors, directors of conscience, and catechists.

The stipend allowed by government to the professors employed in the colleges never exceeded six hundred francs, and it was on this very moderate allowance that they had to live and carry everywhere the good news of the Gospel. They were in the Valais, as well as at Fribourg, teachers and missionaries, but their zeal was not circumscribed to these two cantons. At Schwytz, at Zug, at Uri, at Unterwald, at Lucerne, at Geneva, at Soleure, at Neufchatel, and at Berne, there were Catholics who invoked their aid, priests who felt the need of being fortified in virtue, neglected villages which claimed with eagerness the consolations and succour of the Church. It was the Jesuits to whom all these petitions were preferred, and who responded to these earnest entreaties: they placed themselves everywhere and always under the direction of the bishops or of the vicars apostolic; they appeared to multiply themselves in order to propagate charity in all hearts, and to conquer the spirit of doubt or of indifference; they went about labouring incessantly.

politics they can take part with any faction, but generally they favour despotism. England they hate because they cannot master her institutions. She bids them defiance by her laws, and sustains her liberties by her religion. Long may she uphold her banner against the common enemy of nations! long may she continue the advocate and protector of civil and religious freedom! *esto perpetua!*"—*The Jesuits*, by Rev. E. Grinfield. Ed. 1853, p. 304.

Such is Mr. Grinfield's statement of the Jesuits—a statement borne out by the history of every nation in Europe. Would that his statement of England were equally true; but before it is verified, her Government must cease to train Jesuit priests in Jesuit books in Maynooth, to direct the consciences of an unhappy people: and to educate the people of Ireland without the Scriptures, thus making them the slaves and victims of the masters she has given them.—Ed.

At Dusseldorf they inhabited a portion of their own college, and they re-awakened in that town the sentiments of faith and piety, and they opposed there with great success a new sect called the *Momiers*, of whom Count de Beck had declared himself the champion. At Hildesheim, the fathers Lusken, Van Everbroeck and Meganck, with thirteen other Jesuits, were occupied in the same labours. At Brunswick, the Protestant magistrates would not consent to be separated from the Jesuit whom the bishop of Hildesheim had sent there as the messenger of peace. At Dresden, where Father Gracchi possessed the confidence of the royal family, and where he directed at the same time the conscience of the monarch,* the hospital of the town, and all the Catholic children, an insurrection burst forth in 1830. It was against the Jesuits alone that it was directed; they besieged the house in which some of the secular ecclesiastics resided; Gracchi was in the midst of them, and hearing the threats and the imprecations of the mob, he presented himself before them: "You call for the Jesuits," he cried, "I am the only one of the order in this house, and here I am. Gracchi was known, and was especially beloved for his charity; the multitude bowed before him, and the tumult immediately subsided.

Note 53, p. cxxii.

A few years before this the whole of Protestant Germany had been agitated by the abjuration of Frederick Ferdinand, Duke of Anhalt-Koethen. During a visit which this prince made to Paris, in 1825, with his wife the Duchess Julia, and sister of the King of Prussia, he frequently saw the Father Rensin. This Jesuit pleased him by the amenity of his manners and the charms of his conversation, and he held several discussions with him: he proposed his doubts and his objections to the doctrine of Catholic truth; and Rensin resolved them all. On the 25th of October the Duke, the Duchess, and their brother the Duke of Ingenheim abjured Luther-

* Pray can the reader guess who rules the state when the Jesuit directs the conscience of the monarch?—Ed.

anism, and embraced the Roman faith. Hardly had he come home to his principality until Ferdinand of Anhalt announced to his subjects his return to unity. This news excited violent irritation among the Lutherans: the king of Prussia was indignant; he declared that neither authority or tradition should be the rule of faith, but only private judgment; and he could not find any anathemas sufficiently strong to condemn his sister and his brother-in-law for listening to the voice of their convictions.

One Jesuit had gained this victory over Protestantism; another Jesuit consolidated it. At the request of the Duke, and by the command of the Pope, Father Beckx hastened to Koethen. Hitherto the Catholics there had languished under oppression; Beckx revived their courage, while at the same time he made it a duty to respect the various forms of worship established there. He laboured; he preached; he evangelized almost without any hope of success, for Ferdinand of Anhalt had no children, and at his death his states were to devolve upon a heretic sovereign. Beckx knew all these obstacles, but he did not therefore relax in his labours. In 1830 the death of the duke put an end to his mission, and the Father followed the Duchess of Anhalt who presented to Europe a model of every virtue. But during the few years of his mission the Jesuit had sown skilfully the seeds of toleration. His preaching had greatly increased the number of the Catholics; and in order to leave some recollection of his passage among them he had laid the foundation of a Church. Prince Henry of Anhalt, the brother and successor of Ferdinand, was attached to the Lutheran faith, but nevertheless he accepted the legacy of the Jesuit; the church was finished by his care, and in 1833, on the day when the vicar of the diocese of Osnabruck came to consecrate it, the new Duke desired to assist at the solemnity with his family and the chief of the Protestants.*

Note 54, p. cxxiv.

* Added in Ed. 1851, p. 93, after "chiefs of the Protestants:"—"At this period the revolutionary press thought that everything was permissible

The new elements which now constitute European society, no longer permit the children of St. Ignatius to take an active

Note 55, p. cxxxi.

against the children of St. Ignatius. In France they were attacked with daily sarcasm and by parliamentary phraseology. In Germany, where hatred is a more serious thing, they attempted to destroy the company of Jesus by imputing to them attempts on the life of various persons. The name of Father Beckx resounded everywhere: he was concerned in an act which wounded the susceptibility of the Lutherans most deeply. In Saxony and in the Duchy of Brunswick the agitation was most prevalent. The tempest which had burst over France in July, 1830, had caused the revolutionary leaven to ferment elsewhere. The Protestants made use of this state of exasperation to destroy Beckx. A newspaper, which owed its celebrity to its anti-Catholic fanaticism, appeared at Leipsic under the name of the *Sentinelle Canonique (der Connishe Wachter)*. Towards the end of the year 1830 Hurlebusch, president of the Consistory of the Duchy of Brunswick, signed and published in this paper a declaration, in which Father Beckx at Koethen, and Father Luskin at Hildeshiem, a Jesuit of eighty years old, had endeavoured to convert a Protestant of Wolfenbûttel. They declared that they had even dared to place a poignard in the hand of an assassin to murder a preacher in Brunswick. Such a fact brought into a polemical discussion at such a time was well calculated to obtain credit from many who were only too ready to accept and propagate the falsehood, and the attempt of Father Beckx became the subject of general conversation and of universal terror. The calumny of Hurlebusch had great effect. He endeavoured to exercise its notoriety; he therefore published a pamphlet, giving all the particulars of *the crime and the provocation*, which were related with the utmost details, which could not leave a doubt of their truth. Tempe, a neophyte of the Jesuits, was transformed into 'the old man of the mountain.' He acknowledged that Father Beckx had instructed him that to kill heretics was a meritorious work before God. The pastor of Brunswick was the first victim devoted to his dagger. This pamphlet, which caused civilization to retrograde by two or three hundred years, was largely circulated throughout Germany. It became the study of the children in the Protestant schools: it was posted upon the very doors of these same schools; it was distributed in the towns, and hawked about the country. Father Beckx wrote a contradiction of it to the Protestant paper; but, as is too often the case, the liberty of the press became a monopoly in the service of a few: the contradiction only served to exasperate the discussion, and to revive the imposture. Father Beckx had denied the truth of the whole story; the journalist demonstrated that this weak and timid assertion was another proof of the truth of Hurlebusch's tale. Nothing remained for the Jesuit but to bring it before the tribunals of Wolfenbûttel. The magistrates were all Protestants, but the Jesuit had full faith in their

part in the negociations of the world or of ecclesiastical offices; the Holy See can no longer invest them with the character of legates or nuncios extraordinary, and send them all over the world as Pasquier, Brouet, François de Borgia, Canisius, Possevia and Tolet, to discuss and regulate concerning the interests of Catholicity, sometimes with kings and sometimes with nations; the natural course of events has replaced the society of Jesus in the position which its founder had assigned to it and beyond which it never steps, except in self-defence. It has become more purely religious than ever in an age during which political agitation is rampant, and in which every individual considers it his privilege to cite before his own private tribunal the acts of kings, and the tendencies of governments; in the presence of such a state of confusion of opinions and powers, the Jesuits have wisely considered that there only

justice, and, above all, in his own innocence. Beckx placed his honour as a Catholic priest under the protection of the law: the law was Lutheran, and tried to maintain silence. However, it was necessary to pronounce judgment on an attempt which had long been exposed. Hurlebusch was condemned as a calumniator. He had recourse to the Court of Appeal. The magistrates found themselves obliged to confirm the sentence, which had been inserted in the *Official Gazette of Brunswick*, No. 107; 1833. The president of the Protestant Consistory was condemned to ask pardon, and in writing, of the two children of St. Ignatius. To try and gain time, and to avoid the humiliation of such an avowal, Hurlebusch undertook a journey among the Harz mountains: he died there struck with apoplexy. Tempe, his accomplice, whom the Lutherans had at first protected, was exposed to all the vicissitudes attached to an exposed crime. He wandered from Wolfenbûttel to Dusseldorf, from Dusseldorf to Cologne. It was in that city that, stung by remorse, he retracted before the tribunal all the imputations he had cast upon the Fathers Lusken and Beckx.* His retractation is now in our hands, as well as all the documents relative to this affair, which occupied all Germany during three years. It proves to conviction the malice of some and the credulity of others, and how easy it is to excite both when a Jesuit is in question."

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* Observe, in Ed. 1851, it is Father Beckx, the same as the present general of the Jesuits; in Ed. 1846 the name is spelt Beck. Is the hero of this story the general himself?

remained one part for them to perform.* In order to attain the object of their institute, it was essential to abstain from all participation in public events; to receive, without any expression of joy or regret, any re-action, be it what it may; and to pursue in silence, but continually and in every place, the path towards the end which was proposed to them.† Their action would now only be appropriately manifested in colleges and in the evangelizing pulpits. Their only mission was to soothe the tumults of the soul, to strengthen sentiments of piety, and to conduct the young to happiness and peace by a Christian education. They will never depart from the plan left to them by the great legislator of their company. This plan may expose them to suspicions, to accusations, and to insults; they resign themselves to endure.

"The generals and the principal members of the society," it is thus that Protestant writers in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* express themselves,‡ "have always been, and still are, men of strong character; prudent, but possessing more resolution than is to be found among men of the world. They are men of cool, clear, and lucid intellect, but of enthusiastic hearts, which have never been taxed with insensibility. Men who can be relied upon in all affairs, which they conduct with an enlargement of wisdom far different from the petty cunning which sometimes passes for skilful policy. Under the direction of these admirable guides, and engaged in an unceasing warfare in the cause of virtue, purity, civil and religious order, this vast army of Jesuits marches on, great, not so much from its numbers as from its deeds, and composed of eloquent preachers, of missionaries the urbanity of

* There are certain historians who ought proverbially to have good memories —the statements in pp. 90 to 96 prove that there is no truth in this one.—Ed.

† What an admirable picture of their constant system of deceit!—Ed.

‡ In Ed. 1851, p. 96, the note after "Cambridge Review" is altered to: "The *Oxford and Cambridge Review* of 1845. Among the contributors to this review we find Lord John Manners and Mr. Smythe, both members of Parliament."

whose manners is never diminished by the rudest labours; literary men of the most accomplished taste and lively imaginations; learned men with a passion for study without carrying it to a monomania; men living in the world, but never worldly,"* these are the colours in which the Anglicans depict the old and the new Jesuits. The Anglicans are beginning to blush for the credulity and injustice of their forefathers. In Switzerland the progress of ideas had not in 1831 sanctioned such equity. The Jesuits remained strangers to the commotions which agitated Europe. Their name had been made use of as a standard for revolutionary hopes when it was believed their triumph was assured, and yet it was the Jesuits who were reproached subsequently as having retarded their success. The college of Fribourg prospered; it became a source of riches to the country, and a guarantee of security to families. France, Belgium, and Italy, after 1830, found themselves in a condition bordering on anarchy, the canton of Fribourg reduced itself to an almost similar state, by placing certain radicals in power, who only proclaimed liberty in order to obtain arbitrary dominion.† The company of

Note 56, p. cxxxii.

* *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, 1845. It is tolerably certain that none but a Jesuit would have the effrontery to write such an eulogium on Jesuits, and that is the way in which they proceed. They insinuate themselves, perhaps as zealous Protestants, into positions where they can wield the press; beyond all doubt they are largely employed in the newspapers, the reviews, and other popular productions of the present day, and there they put forth such sentiments as are written here; and whatever they can insinuate, affirm, or proclaim to the advance of the cause of Jesuitism it is all in their favourite profession, "*Ad majorem Dei gloriam.*"—Ed.

† This is a ruse familiar to the Jesuits. It is thus the Romish party in England and Ireland always made common cause with radicals in claiming what they call civil and religious liberty; that is, liberty to gain power to make others slaves. Every accession of political power that Popery has obtained has only been used to exercise a more stringent authority over the laity; and the language of their new class-book of dogmatic theology in Maynooth is this, "*Tolerantia religiosa est impia et absurda.*" Cardinal Wiseman's appeal to the liberality of England on the papal aggression was really an official proclamation of the canon law of Rome in this country.—Ed.

Jesus was threatened with utter destruction, but the contact with, and the responsibility of, command, cooled down by degrees this radical effervescence. It was the opposition of 1818 which triumphed; but it could not dare to alienate the people and the clergy by enforcing its doctrines. The magistrates and the great council of Fribourg made common cause with the active democracy, but the new government was compelled to sacrifice its hostility to the welfare of the masses, radicalism made its peace with the Jesuits, and since that day nothing has arisen to disturb the harmony of this canton.

It was not, however, without a struggle that this union was effected. Youths were called upon to attend the deliberations of the council that they might be initiated into public life. The day-scholars of the Jesuits enjoyed this right. One of them was heard to utter a murmur of disapprobation at the address of a certain deputy, and an order was issued to the fathers interdicting their disciples to enter the tribune. The fathers obeyed the order: the scholars, encouraged by the support which they received from the masses, spoke of revolting against the resolution. There was but one means of calming their youthful ardour: the Jesuits intervened, and peace was re-established. A war of the pen succeeded this insurrection. The Society of Jesus was made the object of attack, of which the grand council did not perhaps foresee the issue. The students once more rushed into the arena.* Note 57, p. cxxxiii.

* In Ed. 1851, p. 98, there is a note after, "into the arena." "A former pupil of the College of Fribourg declared himself why it is not known as the enemy of the Jesuits. He published a journal under the title of *The Friend of Progress (L'Ami du Progres)*. In it he attacked the fathers in a series of articles. The day scholars in the higher class answered by a series of letters, which they had printed. Their discussion destroyed the journal. One of the complaints which *L'Ami du Progres* brought against the Jesuits was the use they made of the revenues of the college. M. Esseiva, a secular priest, an inhabitant of Fribourg, and an administrator of the property belonging to the college, refuted these charges most triumphantly, and he demonstrated by figures that every Jesuit belonging to the college had only three hundred francs for his maintenance."

Free from their colleges, or already become the fathers of families themselves, they were the best judges of the question; they cut it short by combating in the public papers all the imputations brought against the institute. The Government in the Valais, considering the paucity of the Jesuits, and acknowledging that all their travels were undertaken in the services of the public, ordered that, dating from the year 1814, all the public conveyances of the State should carry them gratuitously.

At the same period the magistrates of Schwytz introduced them into their vallies. Father Drach, rector of the college of Fribourg, the provincial Ignatius Brocard, vainly endeavoured to defer carrying out this project. The wishes of Philippe de Angelis, the papal-nuncio, the prayers of the population, and the voice of the sovereign Pontiff, triumphed over their resistance; the Jesuits penetrated for the first time into that country, celebrated for its love of liberty and independence, and formed the bulwark which Catholicism extended from western to eastern Switzerland. And to demonstrate that their taking possession of it had a moral and literary aim, they transformed their noviciate at Estavayer into a college; and in 1842, in order to accommodate themselves to the desires of the country, Gregory XVI. addressed a brief to the bishop of Caire in the following terms:

"Having heard a few years ago that at Schwytz, in your diocese, the principal inhabitants desired to build a college for the training of youth in piety and letters by the fathers of the company of Jesus, we have approved, as most suitable, of their pious designs, and we have seconded it with much pleasure. We congratulate this illustrious canton and your brotherhood, and we congratulate ourselves that so soon after the monks of the aforesaid company had been recalled by the unanimous voice of the people and the clergy, and that they had there opened their schools for the benefit of the young, and that gradually, by means of the alms of the faithful and the

munificence of some foreign princes, they had been enabled to build a house sufficiently large to serve as a college. And that from the happy success which had attended these infant seminaries, the highest presages might be formed as to the services which, by God's help, this college would render to the Catholic religion and to the Republic."

SUPPLEMENTAL COMMENTARY.

NOTE 1, PAGE 1.

"The day of restoration had arrived, and the kings of the house of Bourbon, following the example of the sovereign Pontiff Pius VII., endeavoured to repair the great iniquity *against which Catherine of Russia and Frederick II. of Prussia had so energetically protested.*"—Cret., chap. i., p. 1.

The truth on this subject is, that neither "*the kings of the house of Bourbon,*" nor "the sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII.," at any time signified their belief that any "great iniquity" had been perpetrated against the Company; nor yet did Catherine of Russia, or Frederick II. of Prussia, protest against the bull which suppressed that order.

It is a certain and to some an inexplicable fact, that when, by the universal demand of all Christian states, the Pope Clement XIV. annihilated by the bull "*Dominus ac Redemptor*" the Society which had been the agent of so much unmitigated evil in Europe, those two sovereigns afforded it their protection within the pale of their own dominions.

For the motives which prompted them to this anomalous conduct, we will refer our readers to the pages of Nicolini, who in the eighteenth chapter of his admirable history sufficiently accounts for this proceeding.

The probable motives attributed to Frederick by Nicolini are founded on a quotation from Frederick's own letter to d'Alembert in reply to a remonstrance from him addressed to that monarch: "I did not offer," said he, "my protection to the Jesuits *while they were powerful, but in their adversity;* I consider them as learned men whom it would be extremely difficult to replace to educate youth. This most important object renders them most valuable in my eyes, for among all the Catholic clergy in my kingdom the Jesuits alone are given to letters:" and this was true

as regarded the newly acquired province of Silesia. The other all-powerful and efficient reason is, that Frederick wished through the agency of the Jesuits to gain the goodwill of those Poles whom he had so shamefully betrayed. We have seen what immense influence the Jesuits possessed over the Poles. It is known what authority they exercised everywhere over ignorant and bigoted papists. Frederick knew this, and was very well aware that the Jesuits who had no other asylum but his estates would, without being asked, of their own free will do their utmost to persuade the unfortunate Poles, who had been despoiled of their nationality, and who had been set up in lots as the booty of a conquered town, to endure patiently the yoke of a new master *for their own personal interest and the greater glory of God.* This was the all-powerful motive which induced Frederick to stand forth as the protector of a brotherhood for which he could not have any sort of esteem, but which he in no way feared."—Nicolini, *History of the Jesuits*, p. 429. Edinburgh: 1853.

With regard to the reasons which impelled Catherine of Russia to afford her protection and support to the outlawed fraternity, we may venture to offer the same explanation. We are informed by Grinfield on the subject: "In Catherine II. of Russia they found another protector. Possessed of superior talents, she did not even pretend to the virtues. The murderer of her husband, she lived in notorious profligacy with her nobles. She favoured the Jesuits, and retained them in the White Russian provinces bordering on Poland. They were active pioneers in her designs on that ill-fated kingdom. The Society, as we have shewn (part i., chap. viii.), had been long powerful and active in Poland. In 1772, when the first partition of that unfortunate country took place, the fathers were stationed at Polotzk—a magnificent college surrounded with large estates, containing about 10,000 peasants or serfs; some were on the left, others on the right of the Dwina. They exercised a great influence over the whole country in bringing it under Russian bondage; but when the brief of Ganganelli was issued for their suppression, they did not hesitate to throw themselves into the arms of the Greek Church (St. Priest, chap. vii.). Quitting the left bank of the Dwina, which was still Polish, they became the subjects of Russia; they swore allegiance to Catherine. Retaining their state, their habit, and their name, they bade defiance to the Pope,

and obstructed the publication of his brief. After a while they thought it more expedient to set up a mock primate or patriarch, one who had been a Calvinist and married, who then became a priest, but of very dubious orthodoxy. To him they joined as coadjutor an ex-Jesuit, who, on the recommendation of Catherine, set out for Rome and demanded "the pallium" for "the archbishop of Mohilow." Pius VI., in his heart befriending the Jesuits, after some hesitation granted their request. A nuncio was soon after dispatched to St. Petersburg. Prince Potemkin, the favourite of Catherine, was their patron. These facts are not without application to Cardinal Wiseman and the titular bishops now in England—"*Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*"—*The Jesuits*, an historical sketch, by E. N. Grinfield, pp. 267, 268. London: 1853.

But in addition to the reasons already given, we may add that Catherine being a member of the Greek Church was really ignorant of the system of the Jesuits; she considered them as the same with other Roman Catholics, and her Roman Catholic subjects were as peaceable and well conducted as other denominations within her realm; she knew not that the system of the Jesuits was that of a mere political organization, in which religion was but a means to an end; she knew not, as the Roman Catholic monarchs and states who had called for their suppression knew, the doctrinal principles of a system which makes religion the instigator of falsehood, treachery, and crime, and which aims not at the conversion but the subjugation of mankind.

It is to this ignorance on the part of Protestants, as well as to that of the Greek Church, that we are indebted for the reception and entertainment of Jesuits in these realms. And Cretineau in a subsequent portion of this volume somewhat naively acknowledges this fact; he says, "Thus *the heretics* of Great Britain, like those of Germany and France, shew themselves *more tolerant in respect to Catholicism, their natural adversary*, than men born in the bosom of the Church of Rome, who aspire to chill her to death by their sceptical indifference, *or to strangle her by constitutions of which they establish themselves the sole interpreters and the only regulators.*" And again, "By a strange reversal of all received opinions, it was in countries separated from the Catholic faith *the Jesuits prospered and increased.* We have seen them in Russia and in Great Britain preserve the elements of

reconstitution, and connect the future with the past. . . . . *Protestants* understood that it was not their province to pursue their conquered *enemies*, they left that care to Catholic courts," etc.—Cretineau, pp. 90—97.

We have ventured to emphasize by italics the expressions which manifest the gratitude by which this generosity is rewarded.

Nor is Cretineau more just or true in asserting that "Pius VII. endeavoured to repair the great iniquity" committed against the Jesuits by their suppression. The best evidence of this is to be found in the bull for their restitution by that pontiff. Nicolini says, "He (Pius VII.) speaks of it (the bull for their suppression) as a legal and perfectly authoritative act, by which the Company had ceased to exist; and when he is obliged in some sort to annul it, he does not annul it except in that part which is contrary to his own bull, namely, that which affects the existence of the Society. In the whole bull there is not a word, not a syllable, to contradict or weaken the long list of terrible accusations brought against them by Clement. If it were an injustice done to the Jesuits which Pius wished to repair, he ought at least to have mentioned that they had been wronged, and that it was the duty of the supreme chief of the Church to reinstate them in the good estimation of Europe. But the bull is silent as to any such wrongs, and is very chary of its commendations of the sons of Ignatius."—Nicolini, p. 440.

So that, in fact, so far is the statement of Cretineau from being true, that Pius endeavoured to repair the cruel iniquity, that the silence of the bull of their restoration as to any injustice in the bull of their suppression, is rather a corroboration of its truth than a confession of its iniquity.

NOTE 2, PAGE 2.

"Alexander possessed sufficient rectitude not to allow his reasons for exiling them to be misunderstood. He made no mystery about it; he did not try to propagate against them those falsehoods which their enemies at all times received with eagerness; *their exile was caused by nothing that could dishonour their consciences, or be considered to do so in the eyes of mankind.*"

The extract given by Cretineau himself from the ukase of Alexander in page 21, sufficiently explains the reasons of the

Emperor for the expulsion of the society. And it is only necessary to quote a passage from the ukase to shew that it disproves this statement. It says:—

"To induce men to abjure their faith—the faith of their forefathers—to extinguish in their hearts all love of those who profess the same faith—to render them strangers in their own country—to sow dissension and anger in the bosom of families—to detach the father from his son and the mother from her daughter—to occasion division among the children of the same church—is this the voice of God? the will of His divine Son Jesus Christ, who shed His blood for us—the purest of all blood—that we might lead a life of peace and joy in all purity and holiness? After such conduct we can no longer feel surprise that this religious order should have been banished out of every country, and be nowhere tolerated! What would that state be who allowed to nestle in its bosom those who spread within it hatred and discord."—Cretineau, p. 21.

We may concede with justice to Cretineau, that this might not dishonour nor even wound the consciences of Jesuits, but we must hesitate on pronouncing that it is calculated to secure for them the approbation of mankind.

But there is another ukase, which Cretineau has not quoted, but which will more fully manifest the real opinion Alexander entertained of the Jesuits, and the candour of the historian who has omitted to quote it. It is dated March 13, 1820, and these are its words:—

"They plant a stern intolerance in the minds of their votaries —striving to subvert that attachment to the faith of our forefathers which is the best public safeguard. They destroy social happiness by dividing families. *Their efforts are directed solely to their own interests and promotion, and* THEIR STATUTES FURNISH THEIR CONSCIENCES *with a justification of every refractory and illegal action.*"

To ratify the ukase of the Emperor Alexander, we may refer to four volumes 12mo, containing "*Extracts of Dangerous and Pernicious assertions of every kind which the Jesuits have at all times and perseveringly maintained, taught, and published, in their works, with the approbation of their Superiors and Generals. Verified and compared by Commissioners appointed under a decree of the Parliament of Paris.* Paris: Simon, printer to the Parliament, 1762."

These volumes contain extracts from all their highest authorities, some of them standard authors in Maynooth, and quoted by their professors in the last commission, such as Suarez, De Lugo, Bellarmine, A Lapide, Becanus: these contain their opinions on idolatry, probabilism, treason, regicide, homicide, perjury, falsehood, impurity, and all sorts of crimes, and may be properly said to instigate, under certain circumstances, to their commission.

It is not likely that many, if any, readers will be able to peruse these volumes; but there is a small volume entitled *Principles of the Jesuits*, by the Rev. Challis Paroissien, rector of Hardingham, fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons, 1860,—which contains copious extracts from them, and which, from the perfect authenticity of its contents and the solid testimony which they bear to the real practical principles of Jesuitism, ought to be in the hands of every man who desires to know the truth on this subject.

NOTE 3, PAGES 4—5.

"The houses of the Jesuits had been under the jurisdiction of the university from their first establishment. It was essential for them to obtain an enfranchisement from the authority of the colleges; and from the anxiety which the system of monopoly never ceases to produce, and which might compromise the future." . . . "The university wished by tricky supervision and minute orders to subvert in its very essence the education given by the Jesuits." . . . "The Jesuits here as everywhere else 'invoked liberty.'"

The intense anxiety and constant aim of the Jesuits has always been to obtain a monopoly of educating youth, and as their efforts to oppose the universities, and emancipate themselves from their supervision or interference, will be manifest from various parts of this history, it is desirable to give some little sketch of their system, that their motives may be exhibited. For this purpose we shall give a few extracts from the tenth chapter of *Nicolini*, the whole of which is very valuable and instructive, and a reference to this note will supersede the necessity of adverting on other occasions to the subject. He says:—

"*The instruction of boys and of ignorant people in Christianity* was one of the ends which they proposed to attain, and for which Loyola asked Paul III. to approve his order. The example of John III. of Portugal and of the Duke of Candia, who first

erected colleges for the fathers, was eagerly imitated by many. Their colleges increased rapidly, and were soon planted all over the world, so that there were no less than 669 of them at the epoch of the suppression of the order. . . . It is well known that all persons of whatsoever rank are admitted into the Jesuit schools, and receive the same instructions. At school hours the prince's son, who is brought up in their boarding houses, descends and takes hisseat on the same bench with the son of the cobbler; and this we consider an admirable and most instructive plan. The only obligation imposed on the day-scholars is, that they must give in their names, and promise to observe the rules of the college, which are everywhere uniform, and which oblige the pupil to hear mass every day and to go to the confessional once every month. . . . It is, however, worthy of remark that Loyola, the clear-sighted Loyola, foreseeing that the obligation to follow the rules of the college would deter Protestants from sending their children to it, and wishing above all things to get hold of those children, and to try what the Jesuits could do to convert them, had taken care to leave an opening for their admission. . . . . He says:—'If any of those who present themselves to our schools will neither engage to observe the rules nor give in his name, he ought not for that reason to be prevented from attending the classes, provided he conduct himself with propriety, and do not cause either trouble or scandal. Let them be made aware of this, adding, however, that they shall not receive the peculiar care which is given to those whose names are inscribed in the register of the university or of the class, and who engage to follow its rules.' This is a characteristic specimen of Jesuit policy. . . . On the one hand such pupils cannot but imbibe in the ordinary course of instruction the principles and spirit of their masters, and on the other their pride is mortified at never being considered or mentioned at those public exhibitions which form so important a part of the Jesuit system of education. This artful policy is too frequently successful. Oftentimes the parents, jealous of their children's renown, and anxious to see them surrounded by those affectionate and friendly cares which the Jesuits unsparingly bestow upon the regular pupils, are induced to consent that they shall follow the rules of the college, and go to mass and to the confessional, and even change their own faith, the better to secure for them these desired advantages; and if it should chance that the mother alone is left as

guardian, it commonly happens that both mother and son become Roman Catholics."—Nicolini, pp. 214—216.

* * * * *

Nicolini goes on to describe the politeness and affability of the Jesuit teachers:—"Accommodating their language and manners to the class of persons they had to deal with." How the parents, "delighted with the polished manners and high attainments of their children, spread abroad their fame." He tells how men of all ranks, even those who have been afterwards most hostile to the order of Jesuits, still retain a grateful recollection of their Jesuit teacher, and gives even Voltaire as an example, who dedicated his tragedy Meropé to his dear master Father Porée: such influence did they gain over the minds of their pupils.

He gives another instance of the way in which they endeavoured to maintain the influence they had acquired. He tells us how the Jesuit Leon, in the year 1569, employed "some boys in the intervals of their studies, who were willing to assemble and sing the praises of the Virgin, with certain acts of devotion, contributing small sums monthly for charitable purposes"—that "these meetings by degrees took the form of associations—that these spread so rapidly that Gregory XIII. in fifteen years after, viz., in 1584, erected them into congregations under the title of *Congregations of the Holy Virgin*,"—that these Congregations were under the general of the Jesuits, and spread abroad their communities, banded together by the ties of this association in religious exercises through Europe and India, east and west, north and south.

At appointed times they met to repeat the office of the Virgin, and to listen to the advice of the Jesuit who presided over each of these congregations, and exercised of course his best efforts to gain influence over them, practising all his art to obtain this end. Nicolini remarks on this thus:—"One is amazed when he considers what immense power these congregations must have given the general of the Society. His orders, his curses or commendations of a book, of a man, or of a measure, were repeated in the same tone throughout all the world by tens of thousands, who considered it a sin to disbelieve his word or to disobey his commands. No wonder then that the court of Rome itself was obliged to submit to the ascendancy of the Jesuits, and that the suppression of the order was with difficulty effected by the united

efforts of all the sovereigns of Europe."—Nicolini, pp. 217, 218. Nicolini, page 218, informs us that these congregations were diminished after the suppression of the order, though secretly kept up; but that after the restitution of the Pope and the Bourbons, missionaries were dispersed through all Italy, Spain, and part of France, and that the congregations of the Virgin were re-established—that they are very numerous now, both of men and of women under various denominations, directed by the Jesuits where there are any, and by proxy where there are not—that "these congregations have certain privileges, going foremost in processions—entitled to a greater number of days of indulgence," etc. We abridge Nicolini's statement. But the great object of this is *union* and *organization*—the education of the young—attaching them to their masters, and employing them in religious combinations, where they are under their power and guidance, with inducements of spiritual benefits to continue those combinations through life—these are abundant reasons for the intense anxiety of the Jesuits to monopolize education if they can in any country, and to reject with jealous indignation the interference or supervision of any power that could control them.

But their system of discipline in the schools evinces their mode of obtaining despotic power over their pupils.

"Two pupils, and every day different ones, are secretly charged by the prefect to give an account of the behaviour of all the others, and they are punished if they are not accurate in their denunciation." . . . .

"No one, not even a parent, is allowed to visit a boarder without the consent of the superior, who is almost always present at the interview. No letter can be sent off or received by any boarder, but it must pass through the hands of the rector, who stops it if he thinks proper. The boarders never go home except during the holidays in September, and some remain in the college even during that period. The consequence is that the influence of the family is gradually destroyed, and the Jesuits mould these youthful hearts and intellects according to their own Jesuitical pattern. . . . In all the Jesuit colleges, as we have already observed, reigns the greatest decency, and a sort of military order and discipline which is highly pleasing to the young."

Cretineau says;—"*Their colleges were open for all the graceful arts; even dancing and fencing were not excluded; the annual dis-*

tribution of prizes was preceded not only by tragedies full of political allusions, but also by ballets composed by the reverend fathers, and executed by the most agile of their pupils." No pains were spared by the Jesuits to advance their pupils in their studies, but as the end which they taught them to have in view was not *the truth*, as it was not their purpose to inspire their young minds with those noble and generous sentiments which form great citizens, but only to instruct them in their peculiar doctrines, and render them subservient to their order; the whole course of instruction was directed to the attainment of these ends, and the progress of their pupils was more brilliant than solid—partook more of a theatrical character than of a serious method of learning that would have developed the power of reason and reflection. In the speculative sciences, especially, their instruction was most defective."—Nicolini, pp. 219—221.

The testimony of Nicolini is more than corroborated by Lamartine, from whose *Confidences* we translate the following passage:—

"I do not like the institute of the Jesuits. Educated in the bosom of the Society, I was able to discern ever since that period the characteristic spirit of seduction, of pride, and of domination, which their policy either masks or displays according to circumstances, and which, by sacrificing each member to the general body, and identifying the body with religion, skilfully usurps the place of God himself, and aims to secure for a superannuated sect the government of consciences, and universal sovereignty over the human mind and will."—*Les Confidences*, by A. de Lamartine. Ed. Bruxelles, 1849. Tom. i., p. 148.

As this was the nature of the education which the Jesuits aspired to promote, it is not to be wondered at that they were urgently desirous "*to obtain an enfranchisement from the authority of the colleges*," and we shall find in the subsequent pages of this history that this "enfranchisement" was not sought for by them more perseveringly in Russia than in France and in Great Britain —more especially in Ireland, in which latter country they are now exerting their most arduous efforts to obtain from the British government a charter for a university, and where they have, "*as everywhere else, invoked liberty.*" It will be well for such of our readers as have been heretofore disposed to regard with indulgence, if not with admiration, the zeal and learning of the Jesuits in former times, and to consider them in their present position in

these countries as a harmless, if not useful, body,—rather superior in manners, taste and refinement, to other orders of their co-religionists, to read with especial attention the history of their educational system and labours,—as given by their own historian in these pages and elucidated by these notes. By this study two facts will become apparent:—that when in any country or community a strenuous opposition is made by Roman Catholics to a system of Scriptural or even of mixed education, this opposition is the work of the Jesuits; and secondly, that the Jesuits in this, as in all other matters, consider the education of youth not as an end, but a means;—that in fact their great aim is not to spread civilization, learning, science, morality, or to render the youth of a nation good and useful citizens, but rather to make them subservient tools for the promotion of their own ends, and to administer so much and no more of learning, than will qualify them to suit this purpose. To obtain this object, they wisely and necessarily have recourse to the only method whereby they could hope *possibly* to succeed—they "*invoke liberty;*" they accuse all who would venture to offer the blessings of Scriptural, or of purely secular, education, exempt *from their jurisdiction,* of bigotry and intolerance, thus skilfully turning against their opponents those weapons which they are well aware would necessarily be fatal if directed against themselves. In the lips of a Jesuit, liberty of education means neither more or less than *a monopoly of the right of instruction by themselves.* In Ireland, before the introduction of the present system of national education, they had full liberty of teaching,—but then Protestants had liberty also. Scriptural as well as secular education was in the reach of the poorer as well as the richer classes; by "*invoking liberty*" the Jesuits were successful in procuring that Roman Catholics should be deprived of all opportunity for Scriptural instruction in the schools supported by the Government, and that the Protestant clergy who declined to take part in this wrong-doing should be deprived of all assistance in the religious and secular education of the Protestant poor, and of educating Roman Catholics who chose to be emancipated from Jesuit thraldom. When the obnoxious element of Scripture was eliminated, and the means of secular education given to Roman Catholic as well as to Protestant children, though the schools were chiefly in the hands of the priests, yet they were still subject to lay supervision, and the admixture of children of different creeds

was not forbidden, but encouraged; and when, under the erroneous belief that any "liberty" but the "liberty" to enslave others would satisfy the Jesuits of Ireland, colleges were erected by the Government in which the religious element was omitted, "liberty" was again "invoked" to procure sanction for a university in which submission to Jesuit instruction is to be the law, and if this demand is acceded to, the experience of other states which has failed to serve our statesmen as a warning, will at least prove an example of the folly of believing that a fountain can at the same time "send forth sweet water and bitter."

NOTE 4, PAGES 5, 6.

"*It is, without doubt, very important that the youth of a state should be brought up in* PRINCIPLES OF PATRIOTISM, *in sentiments of submission, and of respect and devotion to the person of the sovereign.*"—Extract of letter from the General of the Jesuits in Russia to the Minister of Public Instruction. . . . .

"This correspondence of Father Brzozowski with the minister of the Czar, the notes which Alexander examined, and which accorded so well with his sense of justice, and the prayers of his Catholic subjects, contains much real ability, *and truly form within themselves a theory of education.*"

The passage above quoted from Father Brzozowski's letter to Count Rasoumoffski, dated August 24, 1810, is thus noted by Lutteroth:—"This passage is repeated almost literally in a note of the 16th of September, 1811, but *with one very significant variation;* there is no longer any question, as in the note of 1810, of 'exciting patriotism in the minds of the rising generation:' the word 'patriotism' has entirely disappeared; the father-general now mentions nothing but '*devotion to the sovereign,*' 'with which it is so important,' he says, 'that youth should be inspired.' Perhaps he perceived that he injured his cause by appearing to make Russian patriotism consist in anything but submission and attachment to the emperor."—p. 10. "'As for the Jesuits,' says the father-general, 'I do not believe that any one can have the slightest doubt about their principles; I will not make any apology for my order, or give it any praise, which would be unbecoming from me. I will only say that the people believed it to be so certain that the principles inculcated by the Jesuits on their pupils were opposed to the ideas of reform or revolt which prevailed,

that, in order to effect the general overthrow of Europe which we have witnessed, it was found necessary to begin by withdrawing the young from these faithful guardians. . . . It is true we have in our order some foreigners, but these foreigners on entering our order immediately adopt its spirit, its interest, and its maxims. Thus bound irrevocably to a body which belongs to the empire, they inevitably become subjected to it, and cannot have any interest which is opposed to it.' Perhaps no words were ever written against the Jesuits more condemnatory than those which we have just transcribed, and which were intended by the father-general for their justification. From the moment that a man enters this order, he adopts so implicitly '*its spirit, its interests, and its maxims*,' that he no longer belongs to himself. He belongs to the company to which he is so irrevocably bound, and to him to whom that company belongs. If we believe the father-general, a foreigner on entering it becomes a Russian, because the company once belonged to the empire. But if this company is restored to its old master, if it belongs to the Pope now as it did in former times, if spread over the whole world, it is everywhere acknowledged and directed by him, does it not follow that those who enter it become Romans whatever may be their country, and are so, as is the company itself, by '*its maxims, its interests, and its spirit?*' In Russia they made a merit under existing circumstances of this unanimity of spirit, and represented it as a title to favour. But is it possible that this can ever in any place, or under any circumstances, be reasonably considered as a recommendation?"—*Russia and the Jesuits*, by Henri Lutteroth, pp. 15, 16. London: 1858.

In a leading article of the *Times*, referring to the now celebrated Father Passaglia's movement in Italy, we find the following:—"It is indeed extraordinary that the leader of such a movement as the present should come out of the bosom of such a society, and it is a fact which shews how impossible it is to repress the workings of the human mind. If there is any one principle that the Jesuit order has set itself dead against, more than another, it is the principle of patriotism. Its special maxim has been,—'no home, no country, but the Church;' *and all national feelings have, in the Jesuit system, been totally absorbed and engulphed in the one universal religious organization under the headship of the Pope. The order has diligently indoctrinated its pupils in this*

belief, and trained them up as citizens of the world in the Jesuit sense, i.e., as having no connection with country, but only with the universal Church."—*Times*, as quoted by *Dublin Evening Mail*, Nov. 17, 1862.

Our historian has wisely chosen to cite the *earlier* rather than the *later* exposition of Father Brzozowski's *Theory of Education*, in which the virtue of patriotism is omitted.

NOTE 5, PAGE 7—10.

"It appeared almost an impossibility to the children of Loyola that they should obtain what they asked for, when Count Joseph de Maistre threw himself into the dispute with his cutting eloquence, and his reasoning, which went always straight to its aim without regarding any obstacles."—p. 7.

"Brzozowski had prepared the triumph of the Society of Jesus, Count de Maistre decided it. In 1812 the college of Polotzk was erected by the Czar into a university, with all the privileges of the other academies. . . . Napoleon carried war even into the bosom of the Muscovite empire. . . . . Brzozowski was a Russian. Without taking any part in a struggle, from which his sacerdotal character forcibly withheld him, he thought that the circumstances in which the empire was now placed were the forerunner of the reconstruction of his order."—p. 10.

It may be useful here to give some few extracts from the arguments of this successful advocate of the Jesuits, Count Joseph de Maistre, contained in a series of letters, five in number, addressed to Count Rasoumoffski, minister of public instruction; it is certain that, in the present state of society, they will be considered to embody very strange ideas relative to education.

"Count de Maistre begins by stating that public education, like certain other political institutions, is not suitable to all nations. . . . 'Science,' he goes on to say, 'renders a man idle, unfit for business or any great enterprise, disputatious, obstinately attached to his own opinions, and disdainful of others, a critical observer of government and essentially an innovator, a scorner of authority and of national predilections, and, consequently, wanting that counterpoise which morality and religion alone can give; the Jesuits knew how to give this equilibrium."

The second letter contains an account of the ancient system of education, and a clever and spirited criticism of the project of

study, evidently too extensive, which had been proposed for adoption in Russia, and which it was necessary to curtail. But we are astonished at the studies which Mons. de Maistre proposes to omit. First, natural history, which, according to him, resembles poetry, inasmuch as while rendering those illustrious who attain the highest degree of knowledge, it renders all others ridiculous. Then follows history, yes, history! . . . . He thought it quite sufficient that during meals a complete course of history should be read aloud by one of the students. . . . . But the greatest care must be taken in the selection of the book, "*for no species of literature is more corrupting!*"

"The panegyrist of the inquisition is afraid of history; these samples of his retrenchments give an idea of the nature of all the others. . . . . He might have cogent reasons in the eyes of the Church for interdicting Greek; but taking it in another point of view, one is astonished to hear it said to the Minister of public instruction:—"Believe then, M. le Comte, those hardworking men who have cultivated this most beautiful and difficult language, that there is no young man of rank in Russia who would not prefer to make three campaigns and take part in six pitched battles rather than learn by heart the conjugations of the Greek verbs. *Therefore no Greek.*"—Lutteroth, pp. 18—22.

We have seen how the Jesuits were successful in their project concerning the university, and the above extracts manifest the character of the *very select* course of study recommended by their skilful and enthusiastic advocate, Comte de Maistre: but we must not omit an anecdote also given by Lutteroth, when Father Brzozowski went to the directors of the department of public worship to "thank them, with an air of humility and triumph. We do not know how Prince Galitzin received him, but the counsellor Tourguéneff contented himself by answering, with more frankness than was to be found in the compliment of the father-general:—"*This is the beginning of the end; you will do so much that you will be sent out of the country.*"—Lutteroth, pp. 28, 29.

With respect to the part taken by the Jesuits in Russian struggles, we will give one more quotation from Lutteroth:—"Twice there had been fighting at Polotzk, and the father-general had fled to St. Petersburg, and, in the midst of this convulsion of nations, he coolly prepared the re-establishment of his company

in Spain. This daring attempt, the moment for which appeared to be strangely chosen, was sure to be well looked upon by the Russian government, because it would naturally foment a re-action against France. . . . . The Jesuits asked no more; they felt that the more they agitated Spain the more they would be favoured in Russia, and they had reason to think so because in so doing they served its interests."—Lutteroth, pp. 30, 31.

NOTE 6, PAGE 11.

"England obtained in 1811," etc.

It is worthy of a cursory remark on this, that when Cretineau describes the establishment of the Bible Society in Russia as the "earnest of a treaty" between England and Alexander for their mutual resistance of France, he is either totally ignorant of the fact, or wilfully misrepresents it. The government of England had no more to do with the Bible Society than with the business of any humble firm in London. The Bible Society, at that time in its infancy, was maintained by the co-operation of a few pious individuals, who were associated together for the glorious object of disseminating the Sacred Volume throughout the world. Mr. Pinkerton, Mr. Paterson, and Dr. Steinkopff, were the instruments by whom, under the Divine blessing, the Society was established at St. Petersburg. Baron Nicolai, the Russian ambassador at Stockholm, appears to have been chiefly the person under whose patronizing recommendation Mr. Paterson seems to have been specially induced to visit that capital; and having procured an introduction from the Bishop of Abo to Prince Galitzin, and communicated to him in an audience the object of his visit, he received from that Prince the encouragement which led him, in conjunction with Mr. Pinkerton, to establish that Society in Russia which was so formidable and so hateful to the Jesuits.

It was established by a memorial presented by Prince Galitzin to the Emperor, dated December 6, 1812, and ratified by a ukase of the Emperor written by his own hand at the foot of the memorial. Thus:—

"Approved by his Imperial Majesty, who subscribed with his own hand 'BE IT SO.'

"ALEXANDER."*

* See Owen's *History of the Bible Society*. London, 1816. Vol. ii., pp. 233—244.

NOTE 7, PAGE 13.

"The Jesuits never lent themselves to this movement towards heresy. . . . . Pope Pius VII. expressed his grief and his surprise in a brief addressed to the archbishop of Mohilow; he blamed him for having co-operated in the triumph of Anglicanism. The blame so justly bestowed upon the prelate was an indirect homage paid to the disciples of St. Ignatius, who, more fully imbued with the true spirit of the Church, had refused to make common cause with error."

The course taken by the Jesuits, even as narrated by their own historian, with respect to the introduction of the Bible Society into Russia, and indeed into every other country, affords a remarkable proof of the essential difference that existed and still exists between the "children of Loyola" and every other order in the Roman Catholic Church. We have reason to be deeply grateful to Monsieur Cretineau for furnishing us with such irrefragable evidence as to their characteristic distinction.

We have given a sketch of the system of education so eloquently recommended by Count de Maistre, but we have not yet given his views with respect to the Bible.

"All should shudder," said he, "at the fundamental sophism of a system which has unfortunately divided Europe. The partizans of that system say, '*We believe nothing but the Word of God.*' What an abuse of words! What a strange and perverse ignorance of the Divine will! We alone believe *the Word*, whilst our dear enemies persist in believing nothing but *what is written;* as if God could or would change the nature of things of which He is the author, and give a life and efficacy to *writing* which it has not. Are not the Holy Scriptures *writings?* were they not traced with a pen and a little black fluid? *do they know what ought to be told to one man and hidden from another?* do not Leibnitz and his maid read the same words there? . . . We laugh in peace at the false god waiting with tender impatience for the moment when its undeceived partizans shall throw themselves into our arms, which have been extended towards them for nearly three hundred years."—*Essai sur le Principe Générateur des Constitutions Politiques*, by Count Joseph de Maistre; quoted by Lutteroth, pp. 32, 33.

"According to Count de Maistre the Holy Scriptures can only

address themselves to certain understandings. . . . they cannot answer those who interrogate them, nor defend themselves, if the Father—not the author, but the interpreter; not God, but the Pope—is not there. . . . . The sentiments expressed by Count de Maistre were participated by his friends at Polotsk. The Company of Jesus have always considered the diffusion of the Bible in the vulgar tongue as the most formidable obstacle to the species of influence they aspire to exercise."—Lutteroth, pp. 33—38.

In order to form a just estimate of the character and motives of Alexander, as well as of those of the Jesuits, we will refer to Monsieur Cretineau himself for the following statements: "In the midst of his devastated cities, his bloody fields, and his armies conspiring with the cold to annihilate the French army, that prince, still young and always handsome, *now raised his heart towards heaven.* . . . . . His ambition was to attain internal peace. Galitzin indicated to him the Holy Scriptures as the source of all consolation; his mind at once received it; he listened in silence to the voice of God which now made itself heard. The Vulgate translated into French had been to him the book of consolation. It was at this moment that it was proposed to him to place in the hands of all Russians the Divine work which had triumphed over his languor, or over his unavailing remorse. No one explained to him the difference of the two Bibles; he never imagined that the hand of man could have dared to alter the primitive text of God's own word. From gratitude for the blessing which the reading of the Vulgate had produced on his feelings, on the 18th December, 1812, he authorized the establishment of the Bible Society. The Emperor had allowed himself to be deceived. Prince Galitzin, his minister of religion, the highest functionaries of the state, the majority of the Russian bishops and Stanislaus, Siestrzencewicz, archbishop of Mohilow himself, declared themselves the patrons of this institution, which was hereafter to deal a mortal blow both to the Greek religion and Catholicism."—pp. 12, 13.

And again: "He flattered himself that he had re-united in the same vow of fraternity all the dissentient forms of worship introduced by him into the Bible Societies. They were to be the privileged instruments for this fusion of every pious sect which reposed under the shelter of his sceptre. *The Pope was to be no longer the centre of unity. The reign of Catholicism was to give place to a union of all Christian nations.* ALEXANDER KNEW

THE JESUITS WOULD NEVER CONSENT TO SUCH A UTOPIA."—pp. 19, 20.

A formidable prospect indeed would such a consummation be to the company of Loyola; "a union of all Christian nations!" never will the Jesuits "consent" to such a sacrilege.

That a realization of this holy and happy object was the ardent desire of the heart of Alexander we can make no question; he had no desire to impose any peculiar form of worship on his people,—but, to quote the words of Lutteroth, "Alexander had learnt by the light of the flames of the Kremlin to see in a new point of view the duties and obligations of the sovereign of such a multitude of people. He had resolved to civilize them by the influence of the Gospel;" and again, "I cannot help expressing the general satisfaction which is felt," said Prince Galitzin, in a letter written at this period, "in seeing so many denominations of Christians thus cordially uniting their efforts to serve the great cause of Christianity."—Lutteroth, p. 38.

We have ample evidence that the disposition on the part of all sects and denominations in Russia to aid the Emperor in his pious and noble design was universal, *with but one exception*, but our business is to shew the spirit which animated the Roman Catholics in particular.

The Roman Catholic bishop of Polotsk, in a circular addressed to the clergy and laity of his persuasion, recommends the Society in the following terms. "Its object is truly sacred. It is the printing of the books of the Old and New Testaments in every language, for all nations which inhabit the earth; it embraces not only the present generation, but extends to the most distant posterity."

"While I refer to all the truly grand and extensive operations of the Society, which constitutes a powerful argument for joining it, and cheerfully devoting part of our property to the promotion of its noble designs, I have only in addition to express my joy that in our present times, in which even some orthodox men too much indulge in propagating speculations of their own, it has pleased God to raise up men who exert all their powers and energies for spreading His word,—the word of salvation which is contained in the books of the Old and New Testament, as extensively as possible among the nations of the earth, even among the Mahommedans and heathens."

"Surely we ought to rejoice to see such prospects opening for the renewed and most extensive circulation *of that Word which the wicked wished to extirpate.* It is evident to every reflecting mind that, as Christians faithful to their high calling, we ought most sincerely to esteem that book from which such blessedness is derived, both in this present life and in that which is to come."

"With regard to myself, I hasten with the most lively zeal to join those who so laudably endeavour to accomplish this desirable purpose. I will cheerfully devote my time and talents, as well as part of my income (small as it is) to the furtherance of an object, which, by the assistance of God, cannot but prosper. With such views, I address you, reverend brethren, pastors of our flocks, that ye, who are the first leaders of the people, ye who first stand in need of these books, and, following the example of David, ought to meditate on the law of your God day and night, may likewise be the first to inscribe your names in the list of the Bible Society, the first to present your donations, or annual subscriptions, each according to his ability and inclination."

"To these it may be added that the Catholic metropolitan and archbishop of Mogileff, a venerable prelate of more than eighty years of age, closed a pastoral epistle, addressed to his clergy and their flocks, at the end of the year, 1814, in these striking and memorable terms.

"I by this epistle give intimation to my flock, concerning the Bible Institution in Russia, and conclude with the following words of St. Paul:—'*I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.*'" —Owen's *History of Bible Society*, vol. iii., pp. 427—429. Lond. 1816.

It is little to be wondered at that this approach towards the spirit of Christianity, on the part of the prelates and people of the Roman Catholic religion, should have inspired with consternation the disciples of Loyola, and that they should have immediately had recourse to every available method to crush the growing mischief; the censure of the Pope was invoked against the archbishop of Mohilow, and the "general of the Jesuits went to Prince Galitzin, and declared to him that the Roman *Church* prohibited the reading of the Bible by the people, and therefore he absolutely could not consent to become a member of a Society whose object it was to disseminate the sacred volume: and no

one attempted to constrain him."—Lutteroth, p. 39. This audacious assumption of authority on the part of the general of the Jesuits to be the only true interpreter of the doctrines of the Roman Church will be strangely manifested when we contrast his assertion with the following:—

"The impression made on many members, both of the Greek and the Catholic Church, resident in the Levant, was equally manifest and encouraging."

"Among these appeared some enlightened men who sympathized with Pius VI. in his veneration for the lively oracles of God, and his desire to promote their universal distribution. With that pontiff they professed to believe '*that the Bible was the proper instrument to maintain in the faith those Christians who are scattered abroad, to establish those who are wavering or falling off, and to bring about the propagation of the Christian religion, and lay open to mankind the way of salvation.*'"*—*Hist. Bible Society*, part ii., chap. iii., page 98.

We may perceive by this a remarkable proof of the fact that during the period when the Jesuits were a subordinate, or at least not a dominant party in the Church of Rome, that even the exclusive and intolerant character of that religion was ameliorated; and on several occasions its spirit shewed manifest signs of approximation towards the spirit of true Catholicity and illumination. We have already seen in the bull of Ganganelli for the suppression of the order, the mild and tolerant maxims he inculcated on the clergy and people; and the letter we have just quoted by his successor, Pius VI., demonstrates that even a Pope, when free from the influence of the Jesuits, could dare to admire and reverence the Holy Scriptures. But the time was at hand when the order was to resume its ascendancy; and the brief of Pius VII. to the archbishop of Mohilow was the first of its triumphs, but not the last. Subsequently the Church of Rome has been blessed with Popes after their own heart, and as fully imbued as themselves with the resolution that such a "*utopia*" as

* The words of Pope Pius are very emphatical: "*Illi enim sunt fontes uberrimi qui* CUIQUE PATERE DEBENT *ad hauriendam et morum et doctrinæ sanctitatem.*"

"For they are the exuberant fountains to which every individual ought to have access, that he may derive from them sound doctrine and pure morality."—Brief of Pius VI. to Martini, archbishop of Florence.

"*a unity of all Christian nations*" shall never be realized with their "*consent.*"

Let us read and digest the following:—"*It is from that most fetid fountain, indifferentism, springs the absurd and mistaken notion, or rather raving of madness, that* LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE *is to be recognized and vindicated.* What has prepared the way for this most pestilential error, is that ample and immoderate liberty of opinion, which is spreading far and wide to the ruin of Church and state; though there are some men who out of most consummate impudence maintain it is an advantage to religion.... This is the aim *of that worst of all liberties, that never enough to be execrated and detestable liberty of the press, which some dare so loudly to demand and even promote.* We are most horribly affrighted, venerable brethren, when we see with what monsters of doctrine, with what portents of evil we are overwhelming."—Encyclical letter of Gregory XVI. to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops, August, 1832. Quoted in *Cases of Conscience* by Pascal the Younger, p. 14.

It was, doubtless, with a prospective view of what the doctrine of the Church *was to be*, rather than as to what it was in Russia, that the general of the Jesuits "*refused to make common cause with error*" by the dissemination of the Bible; and finding that "the Anglican propaganda had organized itself under the shelter of the Russian ministers, *and under that of the bishops of the Roman as well as those of the Greek ritual*, the Jesuits now DETERMINED TO COUNTERMINE THEM."—p. 14.

NOTE 8, PAGE 14.

"No person has yet been able to accuse them of having betrayed the confidence of parents for the benefit of the Roman faith. Nevertheless, the number of Catholics was yearly increased."—p. 14.

The facility with which a Jesuit can write an account of a transaction, and the presumption with which he can make the most confident assertions, which he himself subsequently proves to be false, are here strictly exemplified.

He had stated a few lines before, "Placed between the natural wish of proselytism and the duty of tacitly respecting the consciences of their pupils, a duty which was self-imposed on

them, the Jesuits had never given occasion for complaint on this very hopeless subject."

Now the patent falsehood of this is proved by two facts.

First. That the bringing discord into families was one of the many reasons for the bull of their suppression, as evinced in the language of the bull itself.

Secondly. That the very same fact is alleged as a cause of their expulsion from St. Petersburg in the ukase which Cretineau quotes himself in six pages after (p. 21).

The emperor says:—

"To detach the father from his son, and the mother from her daughter; to occasion division among the children of the same Church; is this the voice of God? the will of His Divine Son Jesus Christ?" etc.

But the fact is, that it is for the purpose of gaining proselytes that the Jesuits labour so earnestly to get the education of youth into their hands; and the pretended "natural wish of proselytism," and "the duty of respecting the consciences of their pupils," are both the reverse of the fact; for proselytism is not a "natural wish" but their sworn duty, and their aim and ambition. By their constitutions they are bound to open their schools to scholars not of their own persuasion; and they are bound "to instruct them well in those things that pertain to Christian doctrine," and "to take care as far as they can that they come to the sacrament of confession."—*Constit. Jesuit.*, pars iv., chap. vii., sec. iii.

Nay, they are to be asked "to make a vow of obedience to the rector, and of observing the constitutions which he may propose;" but they are "not to be excluded if they do not choose to obey."—Pars iv., chap. xvii., sec. iii.

But while Cretineau denies with such confidence the aim of the Jesuits to proselytize, and yet gravely tells us that, "nevertheless, the number of Catholics was yearly increased," he says in the very same sentence that this was owing, "above all other causes, to the prudence combined with the zeal of the Jesuits." How could their zeal have effected this, unless it had been zeal to effect it by proselytism? and wherein could their prudence be combined with that zeal, unless in their attempts, like his own, to conceal or deny it?

NOTE 9, PAGE 17.

"In their most intimate correspondence the Jesuits deny ever having had any participation in the conversion of this ardent neophyte."—p. 17.

Nothing can be more absurd than to quote the correspondence of Jesuits as evidence on any subject; by their constitutions and canons they dare not indite a letter "without permission, and without shewing their letters to the person appointed by the superior to inspect them."—Monita Generalia, cap. iv., sec. 4. Rom. 1617.

So that it is almost impossible to expect any truthful evidence, or anything that could transpire to militate against the interests of the Jesuits, in their letters and correspondence.

NOTE 10, PAGE 18.

"All these glories," etc.

Nothing can more explicitly demonstrate the dangerous effects produced by the intrigues of the Jesuits in Russia than this confession of their historian; he enumerates the glories which encircled the brow of Alexander, on his return from the congress of Vienna,—attributes them to the influence of his policy and the power of his sword, and adds, that "all these glories coming at the same moment, which ought to have rendered his subjects intoxicated with pride, were effaced at once by some obscure preaching in a Catholic church." What must the nature of that preaching have been, and what the character of the preachers?

The ukase of Alexander, which has been quoted by Cretineau himself, p. 21, gives, in a single sentence, the character of these instructors: it is only necessary to cite that sentence instead of reciting the ukase again:—

"Where, in fact, is the state that could tolerate in its bosom those who sow in it hatred and discord?" What wonder that the blessings of European peace were obliterated in the midst of a people for the time by the intrigues and machinations of those who were only fermenting discord and intestine war.

NOTE 11, PAGE 19.

"Alexander gave himself up to certain beliefs, resting on no fixed principles," etc.

It is perfectly well known that the burning of Moscow, and the disastrous results of the French invasion of his empire, produced a deep and sanctifying influence on the mind of Alexander. He had found in his Bible a rest for his soul in the bosom of his Saviour, and been taught in the shaking of his earthly dominions to learn the blessing of seeking "a kingdom which cannot be moved;" hence his value for the Bible Society, and hence probably his estimate of the religion of those who opposed the word of God.

Hence the representation of him by the Jesuit historian; they represent every man, whose faith is built on the sacred volume, as having "no fixed principles;" they know no fixity of principles, and no security of hope but in the surrender of reason, conscience, and soul into the slavery of subjection to the church.

Note 12, page 22.

"He continued just, even in the severity of his ukase."

Before Cretineau recites the ukase of Alexander, he says that "he allowed the hatred of others to lull his justice to sleep."

Here he declares that "he never endeavoured to injure by false accusations those priests whom he had hitherto honoured by his benevolence. He continued just, even in the severity of his ukase." If this historian speaks true, as he certainly does, in this admitted justice of the condemnation of the society, it is unnecessary to offer any comment on his vain but varied attempts at their vindication.

Note 13, page 23.

"Entirely supposititious."

A Jesuit historian ought proverbially to have a good memory, as Cretineau frequently evinces. A few pages back he states that "no one could accuse them of betraying the confidence of parents;" but still that through their prudence and zeal "the number of Catholics yearly increased." And in the last page he admits the justice of the ukase which banished them pre-eminently for this among other charges against them, and here he quotes the general of the Company as declaring in his letter to Gloriviere that the charge was "entirely supposititious." Are we to believe the general as contra-

dicting the historian, or the historian as contradicting the general? or rather Alexander as denouncing both?

NOTE 14, PAGE 28.

"He obliged the general of the Jesuits to die in his states."

The fact here stated by Cretineau furnishes a singular comment on the cool audacity which we find in the assertions and insinuations of the preceding pages. He informs us, (in page 24,) that "in all they wrote the Jesuits rather appeared to dictate the law than to submit to it."

He tells us "there was a something mysterious in the connection between the Czar and the children of St. Ignatius, which was not revealed even to his favourite minister." He more than insinuates that Alexander and the royal family of Russia were in the power of the Jesuits—that "the Jesuits had been made the depositories of all their family secrets"—that "they had rendered services to him which kings themselves are not sufficiently ungrateful to forget," and that "this reciprocity of good offices had established a bond of union, of which neither of the interested parties dared to break the prestige. There was, so to say, a mutual agreement on both sides; confidence had engendered discretion, and this singular contract has not even been annulled by intolerance."—p. 25.

Now, as neither Alexander nor his predecessors belonged to the Popish Church, there could have been no seal of confession to secure the silence of the Jesuits; and yet it is marvellous that though Alexander had denounced the Society in his ukase of December, 1815, in such unmeasured terms, no provocation has elicited from this amiable Society one of these portentous secrets which had placed that sovereign so effectually in their power; forbearance appears to have been all on their side—certainly not on his—did they seem to dictate a law that "any state could allow to nestle in its bosom those who spread within it hatred and discord." That they were compelled to submit to this law is certain; but how could a historian worthy of any credit say they dictated it?

He gives a testimony of their patience and humility, which is truly astonishing, when he tells us, "The Jesuits allowed themselves to be exiled by the son of Paul I., and they took the road of

exile without evoking a vengeance which it would have been so easy for them to obtain."—p. 26.

"They would not allow themselves to be alarmed by these local vexations which one word would suffice to arrest. This word put their habitual discretion to a trial; they had rather suffer than pronounce it." How could this historian imagine that any of his readers could be so besotted as to believe such palpable falsehoods? If indeed the Jesuits possessed such amiable forbearance at that time as rather to suffer exile than to wound the feelings of Alexander by the pronunciation of even a single word, why not inform the world now of this mighty talisman that could have arrested the ukase of the Czar, and rescued the Jesuits from exile? Alexander's feelings can now be no longer wounded. The Jesuits can be exculpated from every imputation: it can be shewn how they ought to be honoured for their forbearance and canonized for their patience: but how could Cretineau suppose that any rational being could believe such an incredible falsehood?

Had not the experience of Alexander rather ratified the opinion of his predecessor Peter the Great, who, in a ukase dated ninety-four years before his own, had said—"It is after seeing with our own eye their conduct in foreign countries, and with astonishment that the other sovereigns of Europe still tolerate them, that we have resolved to prohibit their continuance in our states."—Ukase of Peter the Great, 1719, cited by Usborne in *Rise and Progress of the Jesuits*, p. 26 (London, 1851).

The very letter which he quotes here from the general Brzozowski, containing such an humble and imploring petition for permission to go to Rome, and the steady refusal of such petition, and his compelling that general to remain till his death in his states, proves that the whole preceding series of assertions is a fiction to give the Jesuits a false importance, and that Alexander was neither afraid to command their strict obedience, nor to provoke their worst resentment.

NOTE 15, PAGE 29.

"The labours of their order, and the diffusion of the Gospel."

If it is to the Sacred Volume mankind are indebted for the Gospel, by the historian's own account the most hostile of all men to its diffusion are the Jesuits. Speaking of the Bible Society, he

says (page 13), "the Jesuits never lent themselves to this movement towards heresy." He calls those engaged in it "the Anglican propaganda," and says, "the Jesuits were determined to countermine them" (page 14), and proves that, in every way in their power, they manifested the utmost hostility to the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures. When, therefore, he states that the residence of the general of the order in Russia, instead of at Rome, was an obstacle to "the labours of their order and the diffusion of the Gospel," he would have written more truthfully had he stated that the non-residence of their general at Rome tended to diminish the power of the Jesuits in their universal labours to impede and counteract the Gospel of Christ, and to promote the idolatry and superstitions of the Church of Rome. In 1832, when the then pope sent over his encyclical letter to Ireland, which was translated for the benefit of the Irish population, and signed by every Roman Catholic bishop as having their entire approbation,—in this encyclical, which was a manifesto against the Bible Society, the Pope calls the Scriptures circulated by the Bible Society "the Gospel of the devil;" and in a copy of the *Record*, printed the very day on which this note is written, the following statements shew how the priests of Rome treat the Bible; so identified are the labours of the Jesuits with "the preaching of the Gospel."

"At a meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, held at Auckland on the 10th of November, the Rev. T. Buddle read the following statement from the Annual Report:—'Efforts have been made by the priests of the Church of Rome to gain a footing in Waikato, and a Pastoral has been addressed to the Maori king, asserting the supremacy and infallibility of that Church; representing the Holy Bible as but a paper Bible, full only of black lines, resembling a lamp with oil and wick, but without flame—a deaf and dumb Bible—and insisting that the pastors of that Church are the living Bible, with whom alone is the Holy Spirit, the flame to light the lamp; and a priest has been sent to reside at the Maori capital, but, so far as we are informed, no encouragement has been given by the natives; Runangas have decided that no priest shall reside there, and no perverts have as yet been made. The Maori king and his friends repudiate the whole movement.'"

This Pastoral fully agrees with Count de Maistre in his opinion of the Bible. See this supplement, page xvii.

NOTE 16, PAGE 36.

"It has been condemned, branded, banished, and decimated; but it has never been brought before the tribunal of justice."

It is amusing to see the defence which the historian attempts to set up for his brethren of the school of Loyola; no better comment can possibly be written on it than the review of the last sixteen pages of his own history, which the reader is respectfully invited again to peruse. Cretineau readily admits some part of the report of Prince Galitzin, but he omits, as he candidly informs us, "ten other articles, regulating, explaining, corroborating this decree of banishment," (p. 34;) in these, we may presume, the gravamen of the charges for the report was to be found, but it requires no addition. Let the reader simply peruse what the historian himself selects, and he must at once pronounce that if the Emperor could depend on the mere veracity of his prime minister, he must have been insensible to the interests of his empire and to his own if he had not adopted at once the recommendation of Prince Galitzin, namely, "that they (the Jesuits) shall be sent, under the supervision of the police, beyond the frontiers of the empire, and never suffered to return under any form or denomination whatever."

The latter was a most necessary precaution, for these gentlemen can change their names with as much facility as their garments, and assume one as far from their real name as the dress of a mountebank is from that of a monk; as they stole into England under the title of "THE POOR GENTLEMEN OF LIEGE." And at this moment no person can tell in this country under what name they are working; whether Fathers of the oratory, Redemptorist fathers, Christian brothers, or various other titles which no one can know. But this has been always a part of the imposture of this great engine in the "MYSTERY OF INIQUITY." Cretineau himself confesses this in the third chapter of this volume, which we hope will soon succeed this number: he says, "They concealed their title of members of the order of Jesus under a clerical denomination." ... "They had hoped that mystery would have protected them from the falsehoods to which the old company had fallen a victim, but that mystery had only furnished arms to calumny." Its true character was recognized. "UPON HER FOREHEAD WAS A NAME WRITTEN, MYSTERY."

Cretineau complains bitterly that they have been banished from Russia, from Lisbon, from Spain, from France, and from Rome by the blindness of Clement XIV., but "that they have never been brought before the tribunal of justice."

If he means to assert that none of them have been brought to justice, condemned and executed for their crimes, he asserts what the records of crime, not only in other states of Europe but often in our own dominions, prove to be false. But if he complains that the body of Jesuits has been expelled without being brought *en masse* to trial, he might as well complain that a horde of brigands should be driven *en masse*, if it could be accomplished, from a scene of their depredations, because they could not be individually arrested, and made amenable to a court of justice.

NOTE 17, PAGE 41.

"The Jesuit was accused of sowing perturbation," etc., to "the great adversaries of their system" (p. 42).

It is no small evidence of the formidable nature of that vast conspiracy, the Society of Loyola, that while their historian records with the utmost candour the accusation which was brought against them in almost every country where they obtained any permanent footing, viz., that they were disturbers of the public peace, and aimed at the overthrow of all laws, civil and ecclesiastical; he also is enabled to record the utter impotence of every other mode of protection against their encroachments, but one, *their utter banishment from the countries where they had established themselves.*

Thus in Riga he relates that "the people dreamt of placing other obstacles in his path;" an action was brought against him, but Coince with his select band of male and female dupes, chosen skilfully from the nobility, set all these obstacles at defiance. And in England also we learn, referring to the bill of 1829, "The Jesuits knew that this law was peculiarly directed against themselves, *but they made no account of it.*" And we shall presently see that even the bull of Clement, which effected a *legal* dissolution of the order, proved itself but to be a dead letter as concerned the vital existence of the Society. Truly they fear no laws that human intellect can devise, but their historian plainly reveals that they have one object of fear, and but one, the promulgation of

the law and Word of God, and they may well fear it, for they believe and tremble at the knowledge of the truth of the words of the inspired Psalmist:—"The entrance of thy Word giveth *light*, it giveth understanding to the simple."

Therefore we find that while the Jesuits are comparatively indifferent to all other assaults, the propagation of the Bible among the people is regarded by them with equal terror and abhorrence, and while, according to their historian, they submitted joyfully, in the pursuit of their missionary enterprise, to "inexpressible privations and frightful sufferings," "*the storm directed by the Bible societies*" was alone found unendurable.

NOTE 18, PAGE 43.

"The governor of Riga, P. Marquis de Pallucci."

It is worthy of remark, that while Monsieur Cretineau records with no limited detail the zealous exertions of the Jesuits in the conversion and education of the poor and abject of the community, he seldom if ever favours his readers with any account of their missionary labours among the wealthy and high born, whose souls we must nevertheless suppose were equally precious in the sight of these venerable fathers.

Now and then, indeed, we hear of some noble and eminent convert, whose *spontaneous* adhesion to the true faith, and devout sacrifice of all earthly honours and pleasures, causes equal astonishment and joy to their paternal hearts. Thus we are especially informed that they had no concern in the conversion of the young Prince Galitzin; that "they were accused of making proselytes of persons whom they had never known; but that some persons *presented themselves* before their tribunal whose entreaties it was impossible for a priest to reject." In fact, it would appear, according to Monsieur Cretineau, that in the plenitude of their disinterestedness and desire to avoid scandal, the Jesuits rather discouraged the spread of the faith among the upper classes in society. He tells us, however, that when Father Joseph Coince founded his schools in Riga, "in order to gain the confidence of parents, *he placed noble ladies*, both French and German, as teachers in them, under the direction of the Countess de Cossé-Brissac, and the Baroness de Holk" (p. 40); and that "they gave to these species of infant schools, or halls of safety, an

extraordinary development. The benevolence of females assisted the charity of the Jesuit, and he soon overcame both prejudice and bad feeling."

And we find that in the Governor of Riga, the Marquis of Pallucci, Father Coince had a zealous and devoted coadjutor.

Notwithstanding Monsieur Cretineau's reserve, we are afforded some little light on this subject by other historians of the Society. "The members of the Society are divided into four classes, the professed, coadjutors, scholars, and novices. *There is also a secret fifth class*, known only to the general and a few faithful Jesuits, which, perhaps, more than any other, contributes to the dreadful and mysterious power of the order. It is composed of laymen of all ranks, from the minister to the humble shoe-boy. Among the individuals composing this class *are to be found many ladies*, who, unknown and unsuspected, are more dangerous in themselves, and more accurate spies to the Company. These are affiliated to the Society, but not bound by any vows. The Society, as a noble and avowed reward, promises to them forgiveness of all their sins, and eternal blessedness; and, as a more palpable mark of gratitude, protects them, patronizes them, and, in countries where the Jesuits are powerful, procures for them comfortable and lucrative places under government or elsewhere. If this is not sufficient, they are paid for their services in hard cash, according to an article of the constitution, which empowers the general to spend money on *persons who will make themselves useful*. In return for these favours they act as the spies of the order, the reporters of what goes on in those classes of society with which the Jesuit cannot mix, and serve, often unwittingly, as the tools and accomplices in dark and mysterious crimes. Father Francis Pellico, brother to the famous Sylvio, in his recent quarrel with the celebrated Gioberti, to prove that the order is not so very deficient of supporters as his opponent asserts, candidly confesses that "the many illustrious friends of the Society, prelates, orators, learned and distinguished men of every description, the supporters of the Society, *remain occult and obliged to be silent*."—A. Vincenzo Gioberti, *Fra Pellico della Compagna di Gesu*, pp. 35, 36.

"This avowal, coming from the mouth of a Jesuit, must be specially noted."—Nicolini, pp. 45, 46.

NOTE 19, PAGE 47.

"Napoleon, who wanted to be received in Asia," etc.: also note.

This quasi protection, extended by Napoleon to the Jesuits who might be sent into Persia, we must remark is qualified by the accompaniment of the condition, that "they shall not interfere in anything concerning the Mussulman faith," and "that they are never to overpass their path of duty."—Note, p. 47.

We may profitably cite as a comment upon this, which Monsieur Cretineau relates with complacency as an evidence of the esteem of Napoleon for these pious fathers, the opinion he expressed to Montholon of the results to be expected from the restoration of the Society: "The general of the Jesuits insists upon being a sovereign over sovereigns. *Wherever they are admitted, they will be masters, cost what it may.* Their Society is by nature dictatorial, and, therefore, *it is the irreconcilable enemy of constituted authority. Every act, every crime, however atrocious, is a meritorious work if it be committed for the interest of the Jesuits, or by the order of their general.*"—See *Recit. Captiv.*, ii., pp. 269, 294.

NOTE 20, PAGE 52.

"In his earnest solicitude for the accomplishment," etc., to "the happiness of obedience."

In this short page is recorded the event which, perhaps, was more momentous to Europe than any other that has hitherto taken place in this nineteenth century. By the restoration of the Company of Loyola a triumph was gained by that party in the Church of Rome, whose aim was the subjugation of the papal power, to a power the ramifications of which were far more extensive, occult, and unimpregnable; a power to which certain Popes had succumbed in terror and dismay; against which others had protested ineffectually, or been enabled but partially to control; and which but one brave Pope had defied nobly and magnanimously, for he knew too well the character of his enemy to be ignorant that he was purchasing what he fondly hoped would be the security of the Catholic Church by the sacrifice of his life; for when Clement XIV., on the 23rd of July, 1773, affixed his signature to the memorable brief, "Dominus ac Re-

demptor," in the very act of signing his name, he uttered, "Sotto scriviamo la nostra morte,"—I have signed my death warrant. The event of the battle of Waterloo, the restoration of peace to Europe, the return of her legitimate king to France, involved no event of equal importance to that of the restoration to Rome of the Pope, who, in an evil hour for Christendom, decreed the re-constitution of the Jesuits.

"They were recalled at the moment when their talents were required. Everything was to be re-adjusted and re-established; the whole of the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope was to be re-constructed. No wonder, as the bull expresses it, that 'St. Peter's bark must be confided to these vigorous and experienced rowers.' Henceforth the Jesuits became the virtual ministers and masters of the Pope, the executive of the Roman Church.

"Again: we affirm that ancient Romanism has expired, and that Jesuitism has succeeded, both in things temporal and things spiritual. Henceforth Rome is no longer the nominal head of Christendom, but the real head of ecclesiastical despotism and spiritual domination. Popery absorbed in Jesuitism has ceased to be what our reformers charitably considered it—a real though a corrupt Church. By taking back the Jesuits, and submitting to their sway, the court of Rome has resigned all pretensions to adhere to the doctrine of the Council of Trent on the subjects of grace, free will, and justification—that doctrine was Augustinian; it was adverse to the Pelagian sentiments of Lainez and Salmeron. She has sacrificed her historical traditions. The Jesuits were accounted heretics in theology, rebels in church discipline, and monsters in morality, till they were absolved by the bull of Pius VII. (*Solicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*). This is a consideration of much importance."—*The Jesuits*, by Grinfield, pp. 278-79.

NOTE 21, PAGES 57, 58.

"Without measuring the depth of this intrigue, etc;" to "carry out this project."

In despite of the boasted "unity" of the Church of Rome, an attribute which doubtless M. Cretineau would not hesitate to claim, there are glaring proofs afforded in his history that the bitterest and most determined enemies of the Company of

Loyola were some of the most eminent members of that church, and in this passage especially we see that even with the Pope on their side it was not without strong and energetic opposition that "the bark of Peter was confided to these vigorous and experienced rowers." It would be impossible and profitless, if it were possible, to seek to ascertain the precise grounds on which the cardinals Gonsalvi, Della Genga and Galetti rested their opposition to the reconstitution of the order. It may be that they desired the preservation of a religious and moral element in their Church, and would not that henceforth and for ever Romanism and Jesuitism should be identified before the world, which they must have wisely foreseen would be the case if this secret and indomitable fraternity were suffered to elect to themselves a peculiar pope, over whom cardinals would have neither influence or control. It is but just to give those men credit for a remnant of conscientiousness and piety who would fain have rescued their Church from this depth of degradation, but we perceive that their efforts were vain, that the Jesuits being masters in intrigue, became masters of the position, and Romanism *as a religion* was more than transmuted—it was *annihilated*;—for truly, to quote the forcible words of Grinfield, "Whilst Protestantism is religion, Tractarianism is religion, Jesuitism is no *religion* at all: it is Popery *minus* piety, it is superstition *minus* devotion, it is infidelity *minus* profession, it is worldly wisdom clothed in Mariolatry. . . . It may seem harsh and uncharitable to write about any order assuming the name of the 'Society of Jesus' in this peremptory strain, but we do it out of respect to the old Church of Rome, as well as to Protestants. As the Jesuits before their expulsion were often considered rather merchants than missionaries, and were frequently denounced by Romish bishops as utterly undeserving of the name of Christians, so we cannot be deemed unnecessarily severe in describing them since their return as meriting the same treatment. We are only applying to them the language which the better part of their Church applied to them before they became its masters. They have done nothing since their restoration to wipe off the stigma. By their triumph over the Papacy they have succeeded in debasing Romanism to their own level. Popery and Jesuitism are now identified."—*The Jesuits*, by Grinfield, pp. 355, 356.

NOTE 22, PAGE 60.

"Opinions on the subject of education," etc., to "congregation of the revived institute."

We have seen in the prior page to this how rigorously this newly reconstituted order adhered to the system of the old, as its first exercise was to constitute "a tribunal to try such of the professed as had been ambitious of power, or who had endeavoured to carry discord into the bosom of the institution." The question has been often asked, "Wherein lay the seeds of that vitality, in the original constitution of the Jesuits, which has served during three centuries to maintain the ranks of the Society under so many shocks still unbroken?" See introduction to Nicolini, p. ii.

We would fearlessly assert that the secret lies in its strict and consistent adherence to the monarchical principle, of individual absolutism, whereby every shock of opposing wills is avoided, every defeat by variety of plan or method is obviated, whereby one head is endowed with the motive service of some thousand hands, one aim steadily and persistently carried into effect by the exercise of the intellects of thousands, whose glory and whose pride consists in its attainment.

The constitution of the Society of the Jesuits is, as it were, a sort of imitation of the heavenly hierarchy, as may be seen by the formula of the vow taken by the coadjutors of the Society:—"I, N—, promise Almighty God, before the Virgin Mother, and before all the heavenly host, and you, reverend father-general of the Society of Jesus, *holding the place of God*, and of your successors, or you reverend father, vice-general of the Society of Jesus, and of your successors, *holding the place of God*, perpetual poverty, chastity, *and obedience*, and THEREIN *peculiar care in the education of boys*, according to the manner expressed in the Apostolical letters and in the constitutions of the said Society."—Constitutions, part v., cap. iv. and ii., quoted from Nicolini, p. 50.

We need not here descant upon the hacknied truism that absolute power can never be safely wielded by any mortal man, even though it extend only over a family. The exercise of the individual will, conscience and judgment, is more or less indispensable to the dignity and the perfection of every human being, and insomuch as these are absorbed in the will, conscience and

judgment of another, by so much does each forfeit of worth and virtue, by so much is the ruler corrupted and the subject debased. Blind and passive and dutiful and enlightened obedience are not only different, but opposed.

Tyrants have been portrayed in history whose acts of cruelty and oppression may well cause the blood to curdle with horror, and the eye to kindle with indignation. Confederacies have been organized for purposes so vile and repugnant to humanity, that we can hardly believe we share a common nature with the beings who organized them; but never, except in the "Society" (so called) "of Jesus," has been exemplified the fearful, the almost illimitable capacity for evil with which power can endow a tyrant, or the horrible unanimity which can be made to prevail in a confederacy which is voluntarily the engine of his power. Let us here set aside, however, all enquiry as to the nature of their object, or the means by which they sought to attain it, as matter of moral approbation or censure, and merely consider their proceedings in a prudential aspect, and we will find that by the steady and persevering adoption of the course they pursued, it was hardly possible that they could fail of success wherever they were suffered to obtain an entrance, and to carry out the ostensible purpose they were organized to fulfil, viz., *the education of youth*. In a former note we have quoted from Nicolini a slight sketch of the system they pursued in their schools, as also of the curriculum which their somewhat too candid friend and advocate, the Count de Maistre, had laid down as that best adapted for the training of Russian youth, which would at once secure that they should be made pious Christians, submissive subjects, and ardent warriors. To this end he proposed that the Bible, science, history, and Greek should be sedulously excluded, and we have every reason to suppose that his liberal views had the entire approbation of his clients in Russia.

This scheme, however, we must suppose was only calculated for a Northern meridian, as we here learn that as "opinions on the subject of education had altered entirely all over the world, it was resolved to adapt the '*ratio studiorum*' to the requirements of modern society."

We shall see hereafter the varied character of this adaptation when we come to learn from Monsieur Cretineau the views of the fathers upon "the requirements of modern society" in France,

in Switzerland, in Belgium, and in Ireland. We learn here a fact which should be especially noted and borne in mind. "It appeared indispensable to establish immediately a certain degree of uniformity *at least in each province*," and that it "was decided that they should trace out and submit to the general some provisional rules which should be compulsory upon all the masters." Although Monsieur Cretineau does not profess to furnish us with a precise statement of the rules here alluded to, still in a subsequent part of his history he enters into a tolerably minute exposition of the Jesuit system of moral training, and manifests how admirably it was calculated to obtain and to hold the mastery over the affections as well as the will of the pupils committed to their care. If we credit his statements (and on this point we believe they are worthy of full credit), we must be convinced that when Satan would appear as an angel of light, he could never assume a more suitable form than that of a Jesuit professor.

So perfect is their simulation of all those qualities which at once attract and subdue the heart and mind of childhood,—of more than paternal, of maternal affection, of condescending sympathy, discerning approbation, and, when necessary, unwilling severity, that it would be impossible for the ingenuous spirit of youth to even suspect imposture.

In truth, the chief study of the Company of Loyola is the study of the human heart,—its amiable weaknesses, its instinctive aspirations: in early childhood it is weakest and most amiable, and therefore to obtain the manipulation of children is the object of the Society's highest and most universal ambition. Education in the eyes of the Jesuits is neither more or less than a species of manufacture of tools for their General, to be used by him as occasion may offer or require; some may be necessarily framed of a rough and unpolished kind, and others may need the employment of artistic care and skill and taste in their construction; but this we may be well assured of, that whether the pupil be an O'Connell, or a Montalembert, he is but *a tool* in the hands of his masters—the Jesuits.

NOTE 23, PAGE 62.

"After '7th of June, 1820,' there is a note added in Ed. 1851, p. 53, 'Father Landés found,'" etc.

By this note, which is added in the later edition of Mons. Cretineau's work, a curious light is thrown upon the condition of the Company of Loyola during the period of their suppression, *i. e.*, between the year 1773 and the year 1814. We learn from Nicolini, and indeed it is the avowed rule of the order, that "No Jesuit, without the consent of the General, is allowed to accept any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, and the General is required to refuse such consent unless the Pope command him in the name of holy obedience to grant it. By this rule Ignatius designed to avoid exciting the animosity and jealousy of the other monastic orders and of the clergy in general. Besides, Ignatius knew well that any ecclesiastical dignity would confer lustre and power on the individual, but be detrimental to the order. A bishop or a cardinal would be less disposed than a poor priest to obey the general and to work for the Society. He himself most rigidly enforced it, and would permit neither Lainez or Borgia to receive the cardinal's hat which the Pope offered them. Since his time the Jesuits have very seldom broken this rule."—Nicolini, p. 43.

When we discover therefore that in 1820 Father Hohenwart, "*an old Jesuit*," was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Vienna, we must suppose that he was appointed thereto by the Pope *not as a Jesuit*, but as a Romish priest, during the period of the suppression of the order, when Jesuits were supposed to have no legal existence.

NOTE 24, PAGE 64.

"The good done by the Jesuits," etc., to "another was created at Stara Wies."

We have here another glimpse afforded us of the fortunes of at least one of the "Children of Loyola" during the suppression of the order. We find that Prince Raczynski, who had been a member of that Society, had on its suppression accepted ecclesiastical preferment, and condescended to become archbishop of Guesen and primate of Poland, no doubt, "for the greater glory of God." We say *condescended* advisedly, for it appears that on the reconstitution of his order "he solicited and obtained from the Holy See *the favour* of abdicating the dignities of the Church." It would hardly be possible for any one unacquainted with the system of training of the Jesuits—physical, moral, and intel-

lectual—to appreciate fully the significance of this fact and others of a similar kind which the history of the order so frequently brings to light. We are informed concerning this Prince Raczynski that "his youth had been spent in those labours which prepare for profession." It would be impossible here to give extracts sufficiently detailed to convey even a partial conception of these "labours," but we would refer our readers to a small book, entitled *The Noviciate*, by Andrew Steinmetz, for an experimental history of the results of one year passed amongst the English Jesuits at Hodder House, and we believe that it will then be no longer matter of surprise that individuals who have undergone this system of training for progressive self-annihilation for four years, should at the end of that time have ceased to be *men*, and become *Jesuits*; and we may further add, that it will also be manifest that a man who has once been metamorphosed into a Jesuit, can hardly be believed to be capable of again becoming a man. It is said that this miracle has been exemplified in the case of the now celebrated ex-Jesuit, Father Passaglia, but the ultimate aim and issue of the proceedings of this deserter from the ranks of the order are still mysterious and uncertain. We will quote one passage, however, from this book which will serve to illustrate the subject.

"There was a difference in the conversation of the second-year novices. These, I could not help remarking, spoke very pointedly on the vow of *obedience*. From them I heard the tropes and metaphors which Ignatius has bequeathed as a sign to his faithful followers. 'I must be,' said they, 'like soft wax in the hands of my superior, *to take what form he pleases:*' again, 'I must look upon myself as a corpse, *which has no voluntary motion*,' or, 'as a staff in an old man's hand, *which he uses according to his own convenience*.' These are the very words of their constitutions:—'Sibi quisque persuadeat quod qui sub obedientiâ vivunt se ferri ac regi a divinâ providentiâ per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac si cadaver essent, quod quoquo versus ferri, et quacunque ratione tractari se sinit: vel similiter atque senis baculus, qui, ubicunque, et quacunque in re velit, eo uti qui eum manu tenet ei inservit.'—*Constit. Societ. Jes.* Rom. 1683. Pars vi., cap. i.

"This is not 'tyranny,' 'oppression,' 'a gross insult to common sense!' Not the least in the world: it is only the perfection

of holy obedience, nothing more. How can there be tyranny, oppression, where men are willing and eager to do all that is commanded? The enemies of the Jesuits never stumbled on a more stupid argument than this—it is the very essence of ignorant prejudice." . . . .

"Here, then, has holy Father Ignatius selected three metaphors to give an idea of what sort of obedience he expects to find in his Jesuits. These metaphors are,—1st, wax; 2nd, a corpse; 3rd, an old man's stick. Very expressive certainly! But he did not stop there; he subjoined the property of wax, namely, '*to take what form he pleases;*' he intimates the passiveness of a corpse, '*which has no voluntary motion;*' he declares the unscrupulous adaptation of an old man's stick, '*which he uses according to his convenience.*'

"Now in all fair play, I ask if a man becomes in the hands of his superiors as this wax,—this corpse,—this old man's stick, in the manner that Ignatius superadds by way of explanation; I ask, in the name of common sense, Will that man not do *whatever* his superior commands? 'He will,' you say, but 'where no sin lies.' Will your wax demur to be made into a Ravaillac by Madame Tussaud? Will your corpse refuse to be dissolved into rank corruption? Will your old man's stick aid his steps, but refuse to 'knock down' according to his convenience? Here is no 'confusion of tongues,' indeed; here is *argument*—argument suggested by yourself. True, we were told that 'holy obedience would never exact what was contrary to the will of God.' Alas! what crimes have men not committed under the sanction of conscience! . . . The boundless confidence, the *divinity* with which you are invested as '*superiors*,' the mystification which you constantly keep alive, suppresses every question or thought of a question in your wax, your corpse, your old man's stick, and your Jesuit will be true to his calling in all things, superadding if you like, '*where no sin lies*,' for that is *necessarily* understood, and would not be more satisfactory if you printed the words in *italics* as long as a line of longitude."—*The Noviciate; or, The Jesuit in Training*, by Andrew Steinmetz, pp. 232—234.

We have no direct information from Mons. Cretineau whether or not Father Hohenwart's elevation to the archiepiscopal throne of Vienna had weakened his sympathies with his order; but we may suppose that it was to his influence it was due, that the

jealousy which had always subsisted between the Romish episcopate and the company of Loyola, was not manifested towards Father Landes and his associates on their entrance into Austria, and that the favour shewn to them by Louis Ankwicz, the Archbishop of Lenberg, by the Baron de Hauer and the Count de Sauran, was due to the good offices of the ex-Jesuit archbishop. The Prince Raczynski it appears was of more definite utility, as, "After some years passed in the Gésû at Rome, the old archbishop, *once more a Jesuit, returned to Gallicia, ... and there he died, while Antoine de Gotasza, bishop of that town, laid the foundation of a noviciate for the company.*"

It would be impossible now to ascertain, we suppose, how many Jesuits were promoted to ecclesiastical dignities during the suppression of the order, but it is more than probable that at that period a large infusion of the Jesuit element into the episcopate of the Romish Church may have taken place, and that this contributed in no small degree to procuring for the fathers subsequently an easy victory over their former inveterate foes, the secular clergy.

NOTE 25, PAGE 65.

"The prelates employed them," etc., to "into Hungary."

We are here given the name of another ex-Jesuit who had been elevated to the dignity of archbishop, and there is a strange similarity in the expression used by Cretineau with respect to the reception given to the Jesuits by the Romish prelates in Austria, and that afforded to them in Ireland. "The prelates employed them in all works of ministration," and "they were the bishop's right hand, the living models held out by them to their clergy," etc. It would be a still more curious coincidence should it appear hereafter that Ireland had been similarly favoured by the Holy See by the promotion of ex-Jesuits. We may hereafter have an opportunity to make this a subject of investigation.

NOTE 26, PAGES 70, 71.

"Like every other society," etc., to "doubled their number."

Monsieur Cretineau presumes much on the simplicity of his readers, by venturing to assimilate the order of Loyola in any of its characteristics with "every" or any "other society." Whether we consider its successes or its declension, at various times and in

various places, we are compelled to declare that it is a society "*per se;*" and as we shall presently have opportunity to prove from the evidence of its historian, from the account of its entrance and progress in Austria, that even the hatred and distrust of an almost absolute government is as powerless against its encroachments as the free institutions of a commonwealth.

We may appropriately cite here the words of Monsieur Charles Sauvestre, in his preface to a new edition of the *Monita Secreta Societatis Jesu*, in translation published by Dentu, Palais Royal, 1862.

"Let us imagine an association, the members of which, having severed themselves from all the ties of family and of country which united them to society, bend all their efforts towards the attainment of one single and formidable end,—the development and the establishment of the domination of their association, by every possible means, over all the nations on the earth.

"Let us imagine, moreover, that this immense conspiracy shall have concluded, by substituting its own rules and politics in the place of the precepts of religion itself; that it shall have succeeded in gradually subduing the princes of the Church, and in holding them in a condition of real though unacknowledged servitude, in such a manner that those who bear the titles and incur the responsibility of office, are truly no more than the docile instruments of a mute and hidden power. Such are the Jesuits. Continually banished, continually they re-appear, and little by little and clandestinely they again establish themselves, and extend their roots subterraneously, only the more vigorously, in the shade.

"Their property may be confiscated, but their losses are soon repaired. They are equal adepts at the wheedling of testators out of their estates, and at the conduct of commercial speculations. Confessors, merchants, usurers, sellers of pious toys, etc., they invent novel devotions to create a fresh market for their wares; and, meanwhile, they mingle in politics, agitate kingdoms, and make princes tremble upon their thrones: for their hatred is terrible. Woe to him who becomes their enemy. By the special favour of heaven, whoever has been an obstacle in their path, were he placed on the highest pinnacle of earthly power, has fallen as by the stroke of a thunderbolt. Henry IV., the only king whose memory is dear to the people, was thrice attacked by assassins, and died by the dagger of a fanatic at the very moment

he was about to assail Austria, the favoured government of the Jesuits. Clement XIV., a pope, suppresses the order of the Jesuits, and shortly *dies of the colic.*"*

At this moment the Jesuits are again established amongst us, notwithstanding the edicts and laws against them. As formerly, they have re-opened their colleges, and are busy in training the youth of the country according to their principles.

Their society aggrandises in wealth and influence by means of every description, and nothing can arrest its progress; for everywhere men are to be found, who will be disposed to serve it in order to obtain from it the advancement of their fortunes, or of their dignity.

The book of which we present this new edition to the public, is the secret manual of this too celebrated Company.

They have continually sought to make it appear an apocryphal production, and to exculpate the order of which it is the secret code. All crimes may be denied according to these pious fathers, but how in conscience can we rely upon the testimony of men to whom all falsehood is lawful, provided that it is of utility:—"*A man may swear that he has not done an act, although he may really have done it, provided he utters the oath with the secret reserve in his own mind, that he did not do it* ON A CERTAIN DAY, *or* BEFORE HE WAS BORN, *or some such mental reservation, without the words he uses having any other sense than the apparent one; and this is* VERY CONVENIENT *in many junctures, and it is always most justifiable when necessary or useful for the preservation of health, or of honour, or of property.*" This quotation is extracted from the *Moral Theology* of R. P. Sauchez, p. 2, lib. iii., c. vi., No. 13.

We know that the Jesuits are unchangeable in their doctrines as well as in the constitution of their order, "*sint ut sunt aut non sint.*"—*Instructions Secretes des Jesuites*, par Charles Sauvestre, pp. 5—9.

So much for the similarity that exists between the Society of the Jesuits and "*every other society.*" Let us now refer to the

* The king of Sardinia, Victor Amédée, said to one of our ministers, who is still living, and from whom I have the anecdote, that his Jesuit confessor, being on his death-bed, entreated him to visit him; and the dying man said this to him, "Sire, I have been loaded with favours by you, and I would fain testify my gratitude to you for it. *Never take a Jesuit for your confessor: ask me no questions, for I may answer none.*"—*Extrait des Memoires de Duclos*, iv., p. 119.

same acute and candid writer we have just cited for a confirmation of the truth of the latter portion of Mons. Cretineau's testimony as to the *disinterested* zeal and devotion of the "Fathers," who "*asked nothing for themselves, nothing for their order;*" to whom "*success or defeat was as nothing in the multiplicity of their duties;*" who "*accepted of joy or sorrow with equal submission,*" and whose perseverance was crowned with such success, that when after three years at least "*Jaques Stopper, the secretary of the prince bishop, and Xavier Wirminger, a doctor of theology, entered the noviciate accompanied by seventeen young men, four months afterwards they had doubled their number.*"

"We will now give a short history of the order. We shall see that the Jesuits have been successively expelled everywhere, but that everywhere they have again made good their re-entrance *furtively*, but *perseveringly*. In France, having been condemned solemnly both for their acts and for their doctrines, they have none the less audaciously opened their schools in the bosom of the country from which they have been thrice ignominiously driven. Ministers pass away, governments change, revolutions overturn the land, laws are remodelled, Jesuits still remain always, and, in despite of them all, they alone never change.

"This immutability, which is the sign of their strength, is also their condemnation. Movement is the law of existence; every living thing is subject to change; change is the very essence of progress. This formidable company is a society of the dead, '*perinde ac cadaver,*' and it is a work of death which it fulfils.

"Founded at the period when Europe was awakening after the long and bloody night of the middle ages, it set itself the task of keeping back the current which was bearing mankind towards the region of light and of science. It opposed to the torch of reason the dogma of passive obedience, '*the immobility of the corpse;*' to the pure and vivid illumination of conscience, the corruptions of probabilism and casuistry.

"The worship of the saints replaced the worship of God, puerile formalities were substituted for morality, and religion made way for gross superstition, and as the human mind can never pause in its progress, the separation between faith and reason was rendered wider and wider, and Atheism spread abroad increasingly, as Jesuitism tends to the inevitable destruction of the sentiment of true religion.

"It is true, however, that it has bestowed upon us hypocrisy in its place. Established and directed with the view to the attainment of universal domination, this society presents in the mechanism of its organization such a power of usurpation, such a subtle morality, that we cannot contemplate it without a sort of awe. It may be that its early founders had no other aim than to bring about and confirm a unity of faith, and it may be that even now there are some amongst its members who have but this one purpose, and who pile up artifice upon artifice, hypocrisy on hypocrisy, with the most pious designs possible. Theirs is not the only example of a similar error, but their influence on the society is none the less pernicious, but rather the more ruinous.

"The statutes of the Society of Jesus interdict all personal ambition to its members, but Satan is no loser by this bargain. The good fathers labour quite as vigorously to promote the exaltation and the aggrandizement of the Company, the wealth and power of which is reflected upon every member it contains. Corporate pride and every sectarian passion takes the place of private interest; in a word, none of them preserve any individual or distinct personality, but each is a Jesuit.

"Personal disinterestedness makes the most reprehensible deeds appear innocent in their estimation, while, at the same time, it inspires in them the pride of absolute perfection. It thus verifies the maxim of Pascal, '*To metamorphose a man into an angel is to make him a beast.*' Nothing is so near akin to arrogance as excessive humility, and it is thus that the Jesuits have come to believe themselves *superior to all the other members of the ecclesiastical community*, however elevated their dignity or position; and it is on this ground they rest their pretensions to dominate over the whole Catholic world.

"*They are nothing in themselves*, they bear no sonorous titles, no sumptuous ornaments, neither the crozier nor the mitre, not even the ribbon of the Canon, but they belong to an order which rules and directs them all; the others have the semblance of authority, they, and they alone, have the reality; and in what part soever of the Catholic world he meets with resistance, or is treated with dishonour, how insignificant soever the Jesuit may appear, he knows well that he will have satisfaction from his enemy."—*Instructions Secretes des Jesuits*, par Charles Sauvestre, pp. 13—18.

NOTE 27, PAGES 72—74, ALSO NOTE.

"Austria then had accepted the Jesuits," to "education and by works of charity."

The brief but truly philosophical and comprehensive sketch of the principles, the aim, and the character of the Company of Loyola, which we have extracted from the pages of Mons. Sauvestre's introduction, will have served to throw considerable light on the events related here and in the former part of this history. It confirms the boast of Mons. Cretineau, that "*the institute of St. Ignatius knows admirably well how to adapt itself to circumstances*," which we suppose he would interpret as being a pious fulfilment of the apostolic words, "*to be all things to all men, that by all means I may win some*," and possibly he might also cite in justification of the proceedings of his brethren, the text, "*but being crafty I caught you with guile.*" We have seen with what skill Father Brzozowski appealed to Russian absolutism, in order to induce the Emperor to confide to his order the education of the youth of his empire, that he might convert them into "submissive subjects," and at the same time, according to the sage theory of Count de Maistre, take care not to over-educate them, or make them—

"Too bright and good"

to be fit "food" for gunpowder. We are now given an insight into their manipulation of Prince Metternich and his obedient sovereign, and we learn that he was not approached by the same vulgar method.

We are somewhat too candidly informed in this edition of Mons. Cretineau's history that Prince Metternich "*had imbibed a secret repulsion for the Company of Jesus*," and the utmost praise awarded to him is that "without making any external demonstrations of favour, but *without offering any impediment* to the course they had taken, he *allowed them to respond to the appeal of the bishops and Catholics.*" While in the last edition of his history (1851), the Prince is honoured by a much more unequivocal tribute; there we are told "*he presented himself as one of their principal supporters—he cleared away obstacles—he assisted the fathers by his advice and his influence*," being "*above prejudice from the elevation of his mind*," etc.

We have a high appreciation of the prudence of the fathers

as well as of the perspicacity of the Prince Metternich; but notwithstanding Mons. Cretineau's amended history of the transaction, we can hardly credit that that wily politician was induced to believe in the single-hearted simplicity and purely spiritual character of these pious missionaries, or that he ever truly regarded them with the trustful reliance and admiration which Mons. Cretineau attributes to him.

We are rather inclined to think that the secret of Prince Metternich's *acquiescence* in the reception of the Jesuits into Austria escapes in the following passage of the note, "*following his great maxim of always doing the contrary to that which the enemy wished, he resolved to be just and favour the Jesuits.*" Prince Metternich no doubt conceived that having been banished from every country where there was even a semblance of liberty and constitutional freedom, the Jesuits would be naturally inimical to the doctrines of the liberal school of politicians, and might become safe allies of the government in withstanding the spread of these opinions in the schools and colleges. But he took the precaution to place them under such restrictions as he supposed would render them subject to the surveillance and control of the bishops and secular clergy. This is manifest from the quotation given by Cretineau himself from the Emperor's decree, 22nd of November, 1827, pp. 65, 66.

"In the hope that the Jesuits admitted into my kingdom of Gallicia will render useful service by instruction and the education of youth, as also by the temporary assistance given to those pastors who have the cure of souls,—and that they may impose a salutary check to impiety and corruption of morals; that they will make their pupils good Christians *and faithful subjects;* and that by that means they will contribute to the true civilization and happiness of my people, I will agree to grant the respectful request they have presented to me..... Nevertheless as to that which concerns the sacerdotal functions, the celebration of divine service, preaching, the ministrations of the confessional, and the temporary assistance given to pastors having cure of souls, *the Jesuits must be submitted to the bishops in such a way, that only their internal administration and maintenance of discipline will be reserved to the superiors of the Order according to the laws of their institute.*"

It is evident from this that the reliance placed in the Jesuits

by the Austrian government was of a very limited extent, and that the chief supporters of the Jesuit interest were the bishops and clergy, who lent to them their influence with the people, and assisted in every way to prepare and confirm their triumph, so that literally the government gave them no further token of approbation than "allowing them to respond to the appeal of the bishops and Catholics."

We have already had reason to conjecture to what cause this earnest welcome to the "children of Loyola" on the part of the Austrian bishops may be attributed, viz., to the number of ex-Jesuits who had been promoted to ecclesiastical dignity in Austria during the suppression of the Order. With "Father Hohenwart on the archiepiscopal throne at Vienna," and "Prince Raczynski, archbishop of Guesen and primate of Poland," and "Pierre Klobuszycki, archbishop of Colocza and an old brother of their institute," it would have been strange indeed if the fathers had failed in securing a cordial reception, or if Prince Metternich ("supreme arbiter of all affairs," as Mons. Cretineau declares him to have been) had been enabled to exercise much privilege of choice in submitting to their "respectful request."

Nor is this the only instance, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, in which "*the bishops and Catholics*" have proved too many for merely temporal governments, when it was the purpose of the "children of Loyola" to make good their entrance and establishment in a state; and the subsequent and present condition of religion and morals in Austria, characteristically exemplifies the result of the education they bestowed upon the people. "As to Austria, she is entirely under the sway of ultramontane principles. Whether in politics or religion she is encircled with douaniers and engineers, with bastions and with Jesuits. In vain she strives to extinguish light and to augment darkness. At Vienna or Inspruck it is well-nigh as perilous to read or preach the Bible as at Rome or Madrid. The Jesuits are prowling everywhere in the towns and villages. They have spies and watchmen who are ever on the alert to detect and apprehend the traveller who may dare to carry a Bible in his wallet or portmanteau. . . . We ask in the name of liberty and religion how long this anti-Christian despotism is to be tolerated in the midst of Christendom?"—*The Jesuits*, by Grinfield, pp. 288-9.

Having now recorded the fortunes that befell the few wan-

dering exiles that accompanied Father Landés to Vienna, we are next called upon to consider the results of the hospitality afforded to another band of these brethren in a country nearer home,—"The poor Gentlemen of Liége." And we are informed by Cretineau that we are in the unconscious enjoyment of equal benefits with Austria, since from their "courage inspired by wisdom," "the same success awaited them in England."

NOTE 28, PAGE 75.

"They never fell back before their enemies. This courage, inspired by wisdom, increased their influence: they increased in Germany, and the same success awaited them in England."

"We say that the influence of the Jesuits in the three kingdoms of Great Britain has increased since 1814, and that its bad effects may be daily traced. We would almost be bold to assert that every obstacle which has come in the way to impede the progressive march of a free and powerful nation is, to a certain extent, due to the hidden hand of a Jesuit.

"It must be borne in mind, that Rome of all things desiderates the ruin of heretic England, and endeavours to the utmost of her power to create troubles and difficulties to that free country, and if this be admitted, we shall remind our readers, that all the arduous missions, all the delicate and secret undertakings for that purpose, since the times of Salmeron and Brouet, *were always entrusted to the fathers*."—Nicolini, p. 465.

Alas! it is too true in some respects that "the same success awaited them in England." They have not turned England into an Austria; but in England, as in Austria, they have succeeded in spreading an atmosphere of darkness where there might have been light, in preventing the spread of the holy Word of God, in imposing slavery for liberty, and in substituting hypocrisy for piety, in so skilfully blinding the eyes of men in authority as to induce them to call "evil good and good evil;" and worst of all, in making the free institutions of this country the very agencies by which they effect all this mischief. England is, as it were, a richly manured and well watered garden, in which they have successfully sowed not tares but hemlock, and the rain and sunshine of the people's love to their country and its institutions only serve to foster the growth and rankness of those evil weeds, which "the enemy" has sown in our land. And we are not left to conjec-

ture, nor can our assertions upon this matter be disputed by those whose theory it is that no country, with such a liberal constitution as ours, can ever be subjected to the domination of an oligarchy or an autocracy. We can cite the evidence of the theory, as well as the more emphatic evidence of fact to prove our position. A high authority, referring to the Clare election in 1829, says, "It was very immaterial as to the great question, whether or not Mr. O'Connell should immediately succeed. *A far more mighty blow had been struck* than giving *an individual* a seat in the British senate. Incontestible proof had been put forward *that a new order of things had really arisen in Ireland.* The menaces and denunciations of the Association orators had been long treated by ministers as insolent but idle declamations. *But here was the thing itself,* so sternly expressed, that it was quite impossible even for the most deluded or prejudiced opponent of the Catholics *to shut his eyes to its existence or results.* A cabinet minister, a warm friend to the Catholics, a gentleman wielding the most extensive government patronage .... expelled contumeliously from a seat which he had long held with distinguished credit to himself and his constituents, was, no doubt, a very striking and alarming political phenomenon; but such things had happened in many former elections.... The principle here illustrated *had never before been tried in Ireland..... The man was nothing* in the case, *but the measure was everything.* It was designed to tell ministers, in a language which should no longer be misunderstood, that wherever the Association chose to call, that there were the people ready to follow; that obedience to the Association was the *paramount principle* in the heart of every peasant in the country; that the power of the Association was therefore *absolute and universal;* that it could not be got rid of by the law, for it never infringed the law; that it could not be got rid of by brute force, for it never rendered brute force necessary; that it was therefore unattackable and enduring; that unattackable itself it could attack others; that without injuring established institutions, *it might make use of those very institutions for every purpose of injury; that it could wield the constitution against the constitution; introduce a sullen perpetual war into the bosom of peace; disturb every relation of society without violating a single enactment on which such relations repose;* and, finally, produce such an order of things as to COMPEL the minister to choose between coercion and conciliation, between jus-

tice or tyranny, between war or peace, between equalization or revolution. It was intended to tell him that the CRISIS HAD COME, and there was no longer any time left him for pause or deliberation. This was the moral of the piece," etc.—*Historical Sketch of the late Catholic Association of Ireland*, by Thomas Wyse, Esq., vol. i., pp. 191—193.

Mr. Wyse is right, the "moral of the piece" was unequivocal, and we are fortunate in finding in Mons. Cretineau a commentary which should make "the moral" still more profitable. He informs us that "*the man*" whom Mr. Wyse declares "*was nothing*," was virtually everything, inasmuch as he was the tool and organ of that "which the blessed father, St. Ignatius, was ordinarily wont to call—*the very little Company of Jesus*."—Cretineau, p. 153.

It is, and must be a humiliating reminiscence for England, to recall for how many years not long passed away this nominee of the Jesuits—this coarse and vulgar demagogue—was installed by them in the post of dictator in the United Kingdom: never yet, even in Austria, were they so successful as to find at once an instrument so fitted for their purpose, or politicians so largely endowed with docility as to submit to the domination of so unworthy a ruler, who triumphed in trampling on moral obligations and oaths, and of whom the highest commendation that can be given is, that he was a pupil worthy of his masters.

NOTE 29, PAGE 75.

"We have already related," etc.

We must not omit to notice an act which we suppose Mons. Cretineau's discretion caused him to forbear recording, although he would doubtless condemn it as persecution of a more cruel and unnatural kind than any that was perpetrated by heretic sovereigns against the objects of his devout admiration. It is a petition addressed to the Pope in 1537, *by the English Roman Catholic priests*, in which they say, "That those fathers (the Jesuits) were the sole authors of all the troubles which agitated the English Church; that PREVIOUS TO THE JESUITS COMING TO ENGLAND, NO CATHOLIC HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF HIGH TREASON; that they no sooner made their appearance in Great Britain, than the aspect of things began to undergo a change; that their *political* ambition was manifest, and that they had set a price on the crown and put the kingdom to auction."—See De Thou.

These were the times and the circumstances in which on the 20th November, 1581, Campion and fifteen other priests were brought to trial at Westminster. They were all condemned, and three Jesuits, Campion, Sherwin, and Briant were publicly executed. Cretineau and the other Jesuit historians give them the name of martyrs. Hume, on the contrary, following the historians of the epoch, says that "Campion was detected in treasonable practices, and being put to the rack confessed his guilt, and was publicly executed."—Hume, chap. xii., A.D. 1580. Nicolini, p. 163.

It is a certain fact, that while other orders of the Roman Catholics have been found in different periods of history to be not only good and peaceful men, but loyal and faithful subjects to Protestant sovereigns, and contented with equal civil and religious rights and privileges, the followers of Loyola have never been satisfied with less than supreme domination, nor ceased in their efforts to stir up in all the other members of their church the same antisocial and antichristian spirit. The successor of Elizabeth, the fantastic and semi-popish James, wins no higher favour from Mons. Cretineau, as appears by the above, than that vigourous and truly Protestant queen. "Aut Cæsar aut nullus" is the enduring motto of the children of Loyola: "The son of a Catholic martyr," as they loved to style him, would, they hoped, become eventually subjugated to their yoke, and the persecution which Mons. Cretineau characterises as "always equally inhuman," was in truth such a system of generous conciliation and forbearant tolerance, that it in some sort defeated the aim of the Jesuits by winning upon the affections and loyalty of a great body of English Roman Catholics, in fact, the Jesuits despised him for his clemency. "It is remarkable that though the hierarchy thus affected to rely on his entire devotion to their cause, *they would not suffer their followers to take the oath of allegiance.* The discovery of the gunpowder treason had been so far from ruffling the benevolence of the king, or thwarting his schemes of conciliation, that his naturally undignified character rose with the emergency into a clemency and magnanimity truly royal. In his speech to the Parliament, he observed, 'that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to include all the Romanists in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. The wrath of heaven is

denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour, and many holy men, our ancestors among the rest, had concurred with the Church of Rome in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles concerning the Pope's power of dethroning kings. For his part, the conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter in the least his plan of government, while with the one hand he punished guilt, with the other he would support and protect innocence.' "—Hume, vol. vi., p. 38, quoted from Phelan's *History of the Church of Rome in Ireland.*

NOTE 30, PAGE 75.

"The revolution of 1688 was made to the cry of 'death to the Jesuits,'" etc.

The well known anecdote of the American citizen, whose characteristic view of constitutional liberty was to be "free to make every one else do as he liked," finds a parallel here. "Liberty or death," in the Jesuit vocubulary, means absolute domination over the mind and body of each and every individual, while the alternative of "death" means a privation of the exercise of this vital function.

"The accession of James II. presented," as the present Pope remarks, "a prospect of happier times for the Catholic religion," but it was the darkest day in England for Protestantism since the reign of Mary. There was now no affectation as to the intention of the court. "The queen," says Hume, alluding to James, "had much influence over him. She was much governed by the priests, especially by the Jesuits, and as these were also the king's favourites, all public measures were taken from their suggestions, and bore marks of their ignorance and their religious zeal." The king sent the Earl of Castlemaine to Rome to make advances for reconciling his kingdom in form to the Romish communion. The papal nuncio resided openly in London. Four popish bishops were publicly consecrated in the royal chapel, and sent out under the titles of vicars apostolic to exercise the episcopal functions in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters were printed and dispersed by the express permission of the king. The regular clergy appeared at court in the habits of their orders, and were so indiscreet as to boast that they hoped soon to walk in procession through the capital. Then came the days for forcing Benedictines

on Cambridge, and Jesuits on Oxford. Every insult was offered to the clergy and to the Protestant dissenters. The six bishops were sent to the Tower because they would not read the declaration of the dispensing power of the crown. The nation saw no escape from Popery and tyranny but by inviting William and Mary to come over and save them.

William was a firm Protestant, *but he was no persecutor of the Papists.* He included them in the toleration which he granted to others, and would not be induced to exercise any needless severities against them; but they evinced little gratitude for this generosity. They were continually exciting the Jacobites, and more than once entered into schemes for his assassination. *The Jesuits as usual were the most active in these conspiracies.* In 1695 a plot was laid for destroying the king at Turnham Green, on his return from hunting; Charnock the Jesuit was executed at Tyburn, with several others, in the following year, *for being concerned in this plot.*"—*The Jesuits*, an historical sketch, by E. W. Grinfield, M.A., pp. 129, 130.

In fact, to quote the words of Hume, "The restless and enterprising spirit of the Catholic Church, *particularly of the Jesuits*, is in some degree *dangerous to every other communion.* Such zeal of proselytism actuates that sect, that its missionaries have penetrated into every section of the globe, and in one sense *there is a Popish plot perpetually carrying on against all states*, Protestant, Pagan, and Mohammedan."—Hume's *Hist. Charles II.*, A.D. 1678.

NOTE 31, PAGE 76.

"*In the beginning of the eighteenth century*," etc., to "the Jesuits were no longer pursued as if they were public malefactors."

This paragraph can find no more appropriate comment, than the following slight sketch of the proceedings of the general assembly of the Roman Catholic clergy of France, *at precisely the same period* when Mons. Cretineau congratulates England on her return to true principles of liberty.

"In France *the commencement of the eighteenth century* was signalised by the decree and declaration of the general assembly of the clergy, on the faith and morals of the Jesuits, (see Du Pin, cent. xvii., vol. iv., p. 445). The archbishop of Rheims was the president, and to render the assembly more solemn and in-

fluential he invited the Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, with whom was associated the celebrated Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and others of great eminence. Their first act is dated 5th of October, 1700.

"In this letter, addressed to the French bishops, they censure, in the strongest terms, the doctrines which had been recently advocated by the Jesuits. They combat their semi-Palagian tenets concerning grace and free-will, and denounce as scandalous and blasphemous their hideous casuistry. These censures extend to nearly all the topics in *The Provincial Letters;* to the questions concerning homicide, chastity, the doctrine of 'probability,' the 'first intention,' etc. On all these subjects the prelates, being four archbishops and two bishops, deliver a strong and unanimous condemnation of the opinions and principles of the Society. The despotism and tyranny of the Jesuits cannot be more strongly exhibited than in that retractation which Noailles, the archbishop of Paris, was subsequently (A.D. 1720) compelled to make of his approbation of Jansenius.—See Du Pin, *Hist. Eccles.*, vol iv., p. 422:

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"The rage and displeasure of the Jesuits against the bishops who had thus declared against them, in favour of Jansenius, knew no bounds. Such were their calumnies against the illustrious Bossuet, that his nephew, bishop of Troyes, was compelled to appeal to Parliament in his defence; they pursued the other bishops with the same hostility. To their honour, be it remembered, they still persevered in protesting against such demoralizing maxims." —*The Jesuits*, by Grinfield, pp. 243, 244.

It would not reflect much credit on the British cabinet if it were really the case, that it had extended such undiscriminating indulgence to all orders of Romanists, as Mons. Cretineau assumes it to have done, and although it was a fact that "Jesuits were no longer pursued as if they were public malefactors," the reason was, *that the existence of Jesuits in England was unknown.* The law still considered them malefactors, and paid the homage to morality of excluding them from the kingdom, and if they were not discovered under their specious disguises, or hunted from their secret lurking places, it was due rather to their cunning than to the law's connivance. It is not to be believed that there were any men in England, in the Cabinet, or out of it, who would wit-

tingly have harboured within her shores such notorious enemies of liberty, of peace, and order, and virtue.

NOTE 32, PAGE 78.

"They were about to be left homeless and hopeless," to "Thomas Weld opened England to them."

It is not without reason that Count de Maistre declared concerning history, "there is no study more dangerous;" the maxim admits of a manifold application. From the applause which Monsieur Cretineau bestows upon English liberality and easiness, the unsophisticated reader might be given to believe that the lessons of the former century had been lost upon our country and its rulers, and that England, as a nation, had welcomed these calumniated innocents, and proudly offered them a shelter from the rage of their persecutors. We must remember that this history was not written for England or Englishmen, nor perhaps designed for the edification of Protestants in any country; and it is an artifice worthy of a Jesuit to seek to involve a nation in the act of an individual, when by so doing he may have a chance to win, for his clients, the reputation of having conquered *by their virtues* a dominant position in a great and enlightened community.

In the foregoing paragraph, however, Monsieur Cretineau states the simple truth, although his previous introduction of it gives it a colouring which amounts to falsehood. It was truly "Thomas Weld" who "opened England to them," but be it remembered, *not as "Jesuits,"* but as *"the poor gentlemen of Liége."*

"They professed poverty on their arrival, and obtained the house, with eleven hundred acres of ground around it, at a moderate rent. Poor Mr. Weld was afterwards induced to enter the order, to which he bequeathed the whole property away from his own 'very large family' (see Overbury's *Jesuits*, 207). The government, which established Maynooth College, and endowed it in a fit of unwise liberality, could not consistently uproot Stonyhurst. So the Jesuits have kept their ground, and grown and multiplied in England."—*Secret History of Romanism*, by Rev. Dawson Massy, p. 94.

NOTE 33, PAGE 79.

"Since 1786, the Jesuits of Great Britain," etc., to "this solemnity took place."

While in relating the struggles and triumphs of the Company in Roman Catholic countries, Cretineau is comparatively communicative, as to the opposition of the other orders of the Romish Church to the domination of the Jesuits, it is only here and there, and with great reserve as to the details and particulars, that we are given a glimpse into the relative position of the Romish Church at large, and the Jesuits in these countries. We must commend greatly the prudence of the historian in this matter, but we believe that if the history had been penned for Protestant eyes, he would have observed even a stricter reticence. We have alluded in a former note to the disregard shewn by the fathers to the brief of Ganganelli; here we learn that the English Jesuits considered themselves "placed beyond its pale;" but the vicar-general of the Romish Church was, it seems, of a different opinion, and "refused to incorporate them into the newly-established society," and "signified" "that they must renounce this project."

We are not at this moment aware of the existence of any documents accessible to Protestants, which would serve to throw light on the struggles which took place at this period; but if any of our readers can furnish us with references on the subject, an examination into the details of the event would be, no doubt, highly useful. In *The Noviciate*, by Steinmetz, to which we have referred before, he says, speaking of the lectures delivered to the novices, "they were composed by one Father Plowden, formerly master of the novices at Hodder. They were remarkably well written, always well arranged, luminous, full of vigour, and not unfrequently facetious. I enjoyed these lectures, and yet, strange to say, *it was the lecture which referred to the downfall of the Society, and the charges brought against it, that first shook my resolution to become a Jesuit.* I shall never forget the impression made on my mind by *the concentrated ferocity with which the character of an English priest, who had written against the Society, was assailed.* In reading the passage, the meek father of the novices seemed to tremble at the words of wrath." In a note to this account we find the following: "Referring perhaps to the fierce dissensions between the regular and secular clergy of

England many years ago, I think a full account of the matter appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*."—See *The Noviciate*, pp. 104, 105, and note.

There is another remarkable passage in this book, relative to a conversation held by the author with the agent of the Jesuits in London; he says, "I remember on one occasion I alluded to the charges made against the Society. 'What do they accuse us of?' said he freezingly. I was rather startled by this apparent ignorance, and in self-defence stumbled on the Paraguay affair. 'It is all false, sir,' said he, 'from beginning to end;' and he began to give me some spiritual advice. This is curious, but the fact is, I believe that the Jesuits are for the most part kept in total ignorance of their own history in general. A discretion is used in this matter, as in the permission to read the Scriptures generally amongst the Roman Catholics; and only 'the great and glorious deeds' of holy Father Ignatius (as he is styled *par excellence*), of Father Xavier, Father Campion, Father Parsons, etc., are familiar to the uninitiated."—*Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

We have not been so fortunate as to find the numbers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, alluded to by Steinmetz as containing the account of this warfare between the English priests and the Jesuits; but if any of our readers can furnish us with a more particular reference, we shall feel much indebted for the information.

NOTE 34, PAGES 80, 81.

"The company now risen from the tomb," etc., to "identified themselves completely with them."

In these two short pages we are afforded all the light which Cretineau considers it wise to bestow upon his readers as to this momentous conflict. Never again are we suffered to hear of any internecine struggles in the English branch of the Romish Church, and truly this résumé of events is a profitable one for us to consider.

"England," we are told, "was shaken to her centre." "Pitt had neither time nor inclination to oppose the re-establishment of the Institute." "England had been indifferent to its destruction, and *believed herself strong enough to disregard its resurrection*."

There is a quiet sarcasm in this last expression, which can hardly escape the notice of even the most casual reader; and we

can easily comprehend the silent exultation of the historian as he penned that phrase, while engaged in the record of those events which have subsequently manifested how powerless was the strength on which England prided herself.

We need not to be informed that no sign of conscious potency, no anticipations of future supremacy, were ever suffered to appear in the demeanour and proceedings of "*The poor Gentlemen of Liége.*" They could afford to smile benignantly behind their cowls at the innocent simplicity of poor Britannia; while, like the fair Una in the exquisite allegory of the poet, though guarded by her faithful lion and devoted knight, she was assailed by one—

> "Whose looks seemed still to threat
> Cruel revenge, which he in heart did hide,
> While on his shield 'Sans Foy' in bloody lines was dyed."

We are simply informed that "the Jesuits took advantage of this pre-occupation, and in order that they might not be taken unawares, they decided that a noviciate should now be created. '*They only required one house and a garden,*' and the generosity of Thomas Weld provided both."

Their first great aim was now achieved—the Jesuits had become possessors of a plot of English soil. Lords of a few acres at Stonyhurst, they knew well that to extend their demesne over a much larger district was but a question of time; but they were well aware that while they had little to fear from unsuspecting Protestants, there were those in England by whom "they were better known than trusted," viz., all the pious and patriotic members of the Church to which they professed such ardent devotion.

Englishmen, although Roman Catholics, had not ceased to be Englishmen, and what wonder that they endeavoured to defend their country from the inroads of those men—who know no country, and who had raised tumults and seditions wherever they had been afforded a harbour. Cretineau does not tell us the grounds of the dispute between the Jesuits and the vicars apostolic; but we have an intimation, although but a slight one, that it had in it a *national* element, for he says, "The authority of the vicars apostolic had never been contested, but it was as transitory as the life of the person who held the office; *from that cause alone it was exposed to the errors of self-love,*" by which we may understand that it was possible that a vicar apostolic might be a man

and a patriot, and not a mere ecclesiastic—an item in a corporation, which acknowledged the existence of no individual will or sympathies. These refractory vicars promised to be dangerous enemies, and the brethren were resolute to give them no quarter. For this determination we must declare that "they were wise in their generation," for it has ever been found that Romanism, however erroneous its dogmas and superstitious its practices, when separated from Jesuitism is susceptible of influences from without, and has in some cases been modified, as at different periods in France and in other countries, into a system comparatively innocuous to political and social freedom.

We shall presently have occasion to give a very unequivocal proof of the beneficial influences which the free institutions and the liberal atmosphere of England had exercised over English Romanism; and we believe that we are fully justified in the conclusion, that if in this struggle the victory had rested with the vicars apostolic instead of with the Jesuits, that if ere this the Romish Church in England was not absorbed into the Protestant, its type would have become so essentially changed as to manifest few, if any, of the deformities which now characterize British Romanism, so that those who are now called most ultra and bigoted Protestants would be deprived of all chance of public sympathy and support in seeking to exclude Roman Catholics from the privilege of the utmost extent of civil and religious liberty. At this period perhaps it would not be possible for us to ascertain what were the methods resorted to by the Jesuits, to prevent the voice and the opinion of the people of England from being evoked in the cause of their adversaries. We must suppose, however, that at that time the public interest was almost entirely concentrated on the events and results of the war; and that the battle between the English Catholics and the Jesuits, if it attracted any notice at all, was considered in the light of a sectarian squabble with which those outside the pale of the Romish Church could have no possible interference. By this means our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen were precluded from any means of defence against their enemies, and were therefore silently victimized by this small but compact band of foreign conspirators. We believe that their success was chiefly due to "*the illustrious Milner*," who was a traitor in the camp, and opened the doors of the citadel to the foe. But let this be as it may, the fact

is undeniable that from the date of the establishment of the Jesuit Society in England, the nationality of the Roman Catholic Church in England was utterly annihilated, and patriotism was numbered among the sins against which every true son of the Church should most especially guard himself.

NOTE 35, PAGES 81, 82.

"In the present state of affairs," etc., to "an engine of power."

Perhaps the most lucid comment that could be made upon this paragraph will be found in the following extract from the writings of a man who can scarcely be accused of narrow views or sectarian or illiberal tendencies. Himself an ardent republican and citizen of a republic, he is better qualified than any Englishman to appreciate the abuses of liberty, and to exemplify the methods by which the maxim may be verified,

"Summus jus—summa injuria."

"Associations injure free action by a very plain and obvious operation. *They accumulate power in a few hands*, and this takes place just in proportion *to the surface over which they spread. In a large institution a few men rule*, a few do everything; and if the institution happens to be directed to objects about which conflict and controversy exist, a few are able to excite in the mass strong and bitter passions, and by these to obtain an immense ascendancy. Through such an association, widely spread yet closely connected by party feeling, a few leaders can send their voices and spirit far and wide; and where great funds are accumulated, can league a host of instruments, and by menace and appeals to interest, can silence opposition. Accordingly we fear that in this country an influence is growing up through widely-spread societies, altogether at war with the spirit of our institutions, and which, unless jealously watched, will gradually but surely encroach on freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press. It is very striking to observe how, by such combinations, the very means of encouraging a free action of men's minds may be turned against it. We all esteem the press as the safeguard of our liberties—as the power which is to quicken intellect—by giving to all minds an opportunity to act on all. Now by means of tract societies, spread over

a whole community and acting under a central body, *a few individuals, perhaps not more than twenty*, may determine the chief reading for a great part of the children of the community, and for the majority of the adults, and may deluge our country with worthless sectarian writings, fitted only to pervert its taste, degrade its intellect, and madden it with intolerance. Let associations devoted to any objects which excite the passions be everywhere spread and leagued together for mutual support, and nothing is easier than to establish a control over newspapers. We are persuaded that by an artful multiplication of societies devoted apparently to different objects, but all swayed by the same leaders, and all intended to bear against a hated party, as cruel a persecution may be carried on in a free country as in a despotism. Public opinion may be so combined and inflamed and brought to bear on odious individuals or opinions, that it will be as perilous to think and speak with manly freedom as if an Inquisition were open before us. *It is now discovered that the way to rule in this country is by an array of numbers* which a prudent man will not like to face. Of consequence all associations aiming or tending to establish sway by numbers, ought to be opposed. They create tyrants as effectually as standing armies. Let them be withstood from the beginning. No matter whether the opinions which they intend to put down be true or false, let no opinion be put down by such means. Let not error be suppressed by an instrument which will be equally powerful against truth, and which must subvert that freedom of thought on which all truth depends. . . . In this country few things are more to be dreaded than organizations or institutions by which public opinion may be brought to bear tyranically against individuals or sects. From the nature of things public opinion is often unjust, but when it is not embodied and fixed by pledged societies it easily relents; it may receive new impulses; it is open to influences from the injured. On the contrary, when shackled and stimulated by vast associations, it is in danger of becoming a steady, unrelenting tyrant; brow-beating the timid, proscribing the resolute, silencing free speech, and virtually denying the dearest religious and civil rites."—W. E. Channing, *Remarks on the Formation of Associations.*

The practical truth and wisdom of this admirable and philosophic sketch of the nature and operation of large associations will not be questioned by any thoughtful reader; and the views

it contains may derive additional force from the fact, that it was not written with special application to the Society of Jesuits, but rather to the innumerable political and religious associations that were rife in America at the period, 1829-30.

Let us now see with what tenfold force these remarks will apply to the associations of the Company of Loyola.

"The members of the Society are dispersed through every corner of the world—distinguished by as many nations and kingdoms as the earth has intersections; but this is a division arising from diversity of place, not of affection—a dissimilarity of countenance, not of morals. In this association the Latin thinks with the Greek, the Portuguese with the Brazilian, the Irishman with the Sarmatian, the Englishman with the Belgian, and among so many different dispositions there is no strife, no contention, nothing which affords opportunity of discovering that they are more than one. The place of their nativity affords them no personal advantage. The same design, the same manner of life, the same uniting vow combines them. *The pleasure of a single individual can cause the whole Society to turn and re-turn,* and determine the revolution of this numerous body, which is easily moved, but with difficulty shaken."—Imago, Primi Sæculi, proleg., p. 33, lib. v., quoted in *The Jesuits*, by T. H. Usborne, Esq., pp. 26, 27.

It is in fact the power of a democracy wielded by an autocrat.

NOTE 36, PAGE 82.

"With their practical good sense, the English," etc., to "sought the shade."

We have here perhaps the most admirable specimen of Monsieur Cretineau's adroitness in presenting a palpable falsehood in terms of unquestionable truth; the sentence is framed with considerable skill, for each portion is true; but as a whole it conveys a most audacious misrepresentation.

While it is true that the English were indisposed to carry on "a war against the opinions" of *Roman Catholics*, it is most untrue that they "accepted the Jesuits as they were," *knowing them to be Jesuits;* in fact, so far from this being the case, the very act which conferred what was called "liberty" upon the Roman Catholics, made especial provision for the restriction and ultimate annihilation of the Jesuit order in England. This is subsequently admitted by Cretineau, with the remark, that

although they "knew the edict was especially directed *against themselves, they made no account of it.*" We must, therefore, conclude that there is a sly satire contained in the allusion to the "practical good sense" of a measure, the provisions of which were so easily converted into a nullity; especially as it follows the strange admission, that while "constitutional France, liberal Spain, Italy, Germany, and revolutionary Belgium, all united in one loud cry of malediction," that "in the country the most opposed to Catholic tendencies that cry was destined to remain without an echo."

We do not question the fact that it was under the guise of "practical good sense" that the view was promulgated in England; that it was beneath the wisdom and the dignity of the nation to enter into the religious question with Romanists. Although the arguments adduced were rather of an *ad captandum* than of a solid kind, there is no doubt but that they had great weight and influence with the British public. We can all remember the popularity of "Peter Plymley's Letters," and the nature and quality of the reasons advanced in them, for admitting Romanists to the highest privileges of the constitution.

Apart from the proved "practical" folly of some of the conclusions, it seems almost inexplicable to the thoughtful reader how it could have happened that reasoning so shallow, and wit of such an inferior order as that displayed in those letters, should have met with such a degree of admiration. We may cite the following *par exemple*, "For God's sake do not think of raising cavalry and infantry in Ireland. They interpret the epistle to Timothy in a different manner from what we do. They eat a bit of wafer every Sunday, which they call their God. I wish from my soul they would eat you and such reasoners as you are." Again: "I am as disgusted with the nonsense of the Roman Catholic religion as you can be, ... but what have I to do with the speculative nonsense of his theology when the object is to elect the mayor of a county town, or to appoint a colonel of a marching regiment? Will a man discharge the solemn impertinence of the one office with less zeal, or shrink from the bloody boldness of the other with greater timidity, because the blockhead thinks he can eat angels in muffins, and shew a spiritual nature in the crumpet he buys from the baker's shop? I am sorry there should be such folly in the world, but I should be ten times a greater fool than he is, if I

refused to lead him out against the enemies of the state, till he had made a solemn protestation that the crumpet was spiritless, and the muffin nothing but a human muffin."—*Peter Plymley's Letters*, pp. 14, 15.

To the reader of good taste we think this savours much less of wit and wisdom than of folly and profanity, and if the reputation of the really gifted author had no better foundation than this work to rest upon, we cannot believe it would have survived even to this day.

That such representations should have had effect is by no means an evidence of the "practical good sense" of the English, but rather of their unadvised rashness and over-confidence; the conflict of centuries, as proved by the experience of all Europe, between the authority of civil governments and the ecclesiastical powers, could not be safely decided by the sprightly lucubrations of the facetious divine: nor do we believe that it was at the period alluded to by Cretineau that the question was brought to a practical issue. The impunity given to the Jesuits, and the subsequent passing of the bill of 1829, were but the sequence of a former transaction, the establishment of the college of Maynooth. "When," to use Mr. Wyse's expression, "Maynooth began to be felt," the turbulence and sedition of the Irish Romanists became a motive power in the state, and the "relief of Catholic disabilities" was a mere party cry of the Whigs, and the preservation of British liberty and the integrity of the constitution could no longer be matters of legislative deliberation, but were a simple question of numerical majorities, as has been plainly manifested by the former note extracted from Mr. Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*.

NOTES 37, PAGES 83, 84.

"The position we have just described," etc., to "distracted by intestine war."

The whole proceedings of the Romish Church are so hidden in mystery, that even their own laity have little or no cognizance of them, except when the laws are brought to bear upon themselves in special instances; the laws which regulate their clergy *are wholly unknown to them*; nor in general do they care to investigate the subject; any undue curiosity concerning it being considered a species of sacrilege. We may therefore easily believe, that the whole

ecclesiastical system of the Romish Church might be revolutionized, and the laity be condemned to a condition of spiritual and civil Helotism, without their having any cognizance of the time or the method by which the revolution was effected.

Although Protestants are not withheld by any sentiments of awe or reluctance, from seeking to ascertain the secrets of the ecclesiastical polity of Rome, they are debarred from all means of learning the precise facts concerning it except through the medium of Romish writers belonging to the opposing sections of that Church. We have an opportunity of learning, both from the record of facts by some of these writers, and by inferences which these facts necessarily involve, some strange particulars as to the quarrel between the Vicars Apostolic and the Jesuits, which Cretineau here so cautiously alludes to.

We transcribe from the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, March 1841, p. 547, the following short account of all that Protestants were suffered to know with respect to this quarrel.

"It is evident that Popery being Christian, though a perversion of Catholic Christianity, and under the appearance of rigid inflexibility, leaving much of its practice to be modified by individual character; may assume not only a decent and quiet, but also a spiritual form, when the turbulent, avaricious and ambitious spirit by which it is too often possessed, is lulled for a time by circumstances. It does assume this form in the many, great, and good, and holy men who have lived within the Romish communion, and especially in the parochial clergy of some Roman Catholic countries, as for instance at some periods in France; and, as was stated before, there is reason to believe that towards the end of the last century, this was to a certain degree the case in Ireland. Priests appear to have been men of education, gentlemanly habits and associations, loyal, orderly and benevolent. Few obstacles were offered to attendance on Protestant schools; servants were permitted to attend family prayers; acts of courtesy and kindness, and even more, were exchanged between themselves and the clergy of the Church. The Protestants subscribed largely, in fact almost built for them their chapels, and the landlords and tenants appear not to have been hostilely separated.

"Notwithstanding the mischievous system which prevailed of middle men, *there seems to have been even some disposition to modify the papal part of the system, and to introduce something of the Gallica*